

CABINET SYSTEM IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT



Proceedings of the Seminar
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PREFACE

One of the major functions of our Centre for Training and Research in Municipal Administration is to hold seminars on urban and municipal problems for the benefit of the municipal councillors. The present seminar was one in a series of such seminars which are intended to bring city fathers and subject-experts together on a common forum for a healthy exchange of ideas. This seminar was inaugurated by Shri B. S. Murthy, Minister in the Ministry of Health, Family Planning, Works, Housing and Urban Development. He introduced the subject explaining fully the implications of cabinet system for municipal government and administration. We are grateful to him for his illuminating speech that had set the stage for deliberations. Shri Hans Raj Gupta, Mayor of Delhi Municipal Corporation, presided over the concluding session of the seminar and gave the valedictory address with his characteristic clarity, in which he had posed the problems of municipal executive administration very vividly. We are thankful to him for his active interest in the seminar. The deliberations of the seminar had all through been of a high order. This was possible due to a consensus on the failings of our municipal government and the need for structural reforms. As is evident from the proceedings, the councillors and experts blended very successfully in this seminar to make the deliberations really useful. We gratefully acknowledge our debt of gratitude to all of them.

The proceedings have been ably summarised and edited by Shri M. Bhattacharya of the Centre for Training and Research in Municipal Administration, who has also written the 'Introduction'. I would hope that the several ideas contained in the proceedings would provoke further thinking in municipal reforms and ultimately help in bringing about needed changes in our municipal government and administration.

J. N. KHOSLA

Director

NEW DELHI
May 25, 1970

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

I INTRODUCTION

MUNICIPAL Government in India belongs to an older vintage—older than even the State Governments. Originally designed to give relief to the Imperial Exchequer and cater for popular education in the running of democratic machinery, it has served the goals with a measure of success. There were obvious constraints in a developing society that stood in the way of steady progress of the municipal institutions. Independence brought in its trail new hopes of resuscitating local government within the framework of constitutional democracy in the country. It also opened up the scope for articulation of pent-up popular demands for adequate civic amenities. Living under acute scarcity conditions, the municipal authorities in the urban areas have naturally been unable to provide even minimum civic services. In an era of rising aspirations and scramble for power, efficient management of municipal administration has, in many instances, become the first casualty. The cumulative effect of democracy at all levels of government has been to induct into the political process new forces and actors from the different strata of society. In the bigger cities, this situation has led to a new power-alignment under which the elected city fathers could not brook any delay in the transfer of power from the civil servants to the popular representatives.

As a new political society was being ushered in, the structure of municipal government remained static. It failed to keep in step with the march of time. The anomaly is most conspicuous in the larger cities where the bulk of the urban population lives, and where, as a consequence, urban problems are the most acute. The present seminar was organised on the assumption that urban local government in India needs to be radically reformed to make it a fit agency of local public administration. Although the title of the seminar had initially created an impression that there was a latent bias toward the cabinet system, the main purpose was, however, to discuss various proposals

for the reform of municipal government. The assumption of the seminar was generally upheld, as almost every participant felt that the structure of municipal government did not suit the present-day situation and it should be reformed as early as possible. On the question of a desirable system of government, opinion differed widely. Three different systems were suggested in course of the deliberations—cabinet system, presidential system, and committee system. No doubt it is difficult to find out the precise weight of arguments; still, it seems that the cabinet system could rally more support than the remaining two. The champions of the presidential system and the committee system were almost evenly divided. In spite of their predilections for a particular system of government, the participants were quite flexible in their approaches and alive both to the advantages and disadvantages of specific forms of government. Some of the speakers went beyond the mere question of choosing a formal governmental structure and discussed the problems of functions, finances, technical know-how, calibre of councillors, state control, and politics and society.

One important point on which there was sufficient agreement was that local self-government should, in the main, be the responsibility of the locally elected councillors, and that it went against the essential principle of democracy to give statutory powers for running the executive administration to the appointed officers. The paramount importance of the latter as an aid to the political executive was, however, universally accepted. It was the nature of the political executive which provoked everybody and on which no unanimity could be reached. Differences of opinion on so vital an issue are understandable. Still, the debate had perhaps produced more light than heat. It amply testified to the consciousness of the civic leaders about municipal reforms and their anxiety to bring urban local government in tune with the country's democratic ethos.

II SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

I. Inauguration

IN the absence of Dr. J. N. Khosla, Director of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, Prof. V. Jagannadham welcomed the participants in the seminar. He was particularly thankful to Shri B. S. Murthy, Hon. Minister for Health, for consenting to inaugurate the seminar. In his introductory remarks, Professor Jagannadham complimented the Centre for Training and Research in Municipal Administration for its imaginative programme of activities. He was especially happy because of the success of the Centre in involving the elected local representatives in seminars like this. Dwelling briefly on the subject of the seminar, he said that little experimentation had been done so far in India to improve municipal government. In such a context he felt that the subject of the seminar would provoke serious thinking about the structure of urban local government in India. Regarding modernisation of local government, he was of the opinion that there was need in the Indian context for a certain degree of adequate political authority, administrative efficiency, financial resources and technical manpower. He posed the question whether the cabinet system of government would introduce into the municipal administration adequate political authority with necessary power to legislate on local affairs within the framework of national policies. He thought that the role of local government had to be discussed within the overall perspective of development. He expected the municipal authorities in our urban areas to play an important part both in modernisation and development. After these introductory remarks, he requested Shri B. S. Murthy to inaugurate the seminar.

Shri Murthy said that he was happy that the Centre for Training and Research in Municipal Administration had chosen the subject of "Cabinet System in Municipal Government"

for discussion. He was hopeful that the deliberations of the seminar would be highly fruitful, and useful suggestions would emerge out of the discussions. In his desire to share a few of his thoughts on the theme of the seminar, Shri Murthy went on to say : "The problems of management of towns and cities are not only vast in size but are truly complicated in character. With urbanisation taking place at an accelerated pace, the tasks and responsibilities of the local authorities have been growing rapidly. The modern city today knows no boundaries. It is a new economic phenomenon. Itself the product of industrial development, it has become the agent and instrument of economic growth and industrial expansion. Particularly in large metropolitan areas it is no longer a single political entity. On the one hand, it is a corporate legal institution having a well defined territorial jurisdiction under a statutory governmental organisation; on the other, it is a socio-economic and geographic entity spilling across local, district or even State boundaries, encompassing within its fold a number of authorities, functional and territorial. Quite often the urban dweller lives in one jurisdiction, works in another and goes for shopping and recreational facilities to a third. He sends his children to schools managed by one authority, but the conveyance is arranged by another. The city administrations have today to reckon with ever-increasing population alive to many rights and privileges and holding the key to much of national prosperity.

"According to the 1961 Census, the urban population of India was about 80 million—one-fifth of the total population—living in 2700 towns and cities of varying sizes. Nearly half of this population was living in 100 and odd cities each with a population exceeding one lakh. According to an authoritative estimate, the urban population exceeded 95 million in the beginning of 1966—an addition of 16 million in 5 years. At the present rate of growth, this population is likely to exceed 100 million by 1971 and 160 million by 1981.

"There are at present 2000 urban local bodies, including 30 municipal corporations and about 1500 municipalities of various sizes. The balance is covered by notified and town area committees and the cantonment boards. The corporations serve more than 30 per cent of the population covered by all local bodies, while another 64 per cent is living in municipal

towns. The problems encountered by the cities are truly gigantic. Their enormity can be appreciated from the fact that quite a few cities in India have to cater for the needs of population which is more than the individual population of several countries of the world.

“As a result of economic planning, our cities have become nerve centres of national life and economy, and the city administration is in a state of flux. There is on the one hand, demand for decentralisation of power and grant of autonomy in local affairs and on the other, the Governments are transferring municipal functions to special area authorities or *ad hoc* bodies because the municipal authorities have, in their opinion, for a variety of reasons not been able to cope with them. The needs of reconciling democratic aspirations with efficiency of administration are put forward as arguments for executive centralisation and bureaucratic control. All this has led to a fragmentation of authorities resulting, in many cases, in conflicts of jurisdiction. While the preservation and improvement of the urban scene on sound and orderly lines are no doubt important, the democratic urges of the people have also to be respected.

“It would be worthwhile considering whether the tendency to supplant and dilute local enterprise and responsibilities by compartmentalised and centralised agencies needs to be halted. This is to be considered in the context of our experience that a multiplicity of agencies has, in many places, produced varying degrees of lop-sided development and thus rendered difficult a comprehensive view of the basic needs of a city. It is also to be kept in view that a centralised system in its very nature resides at a distance from the local scene and thus quite often fails to judge local needs properly and to evoke adequately local enthusiasm and participation. I would, therefore, recommend to you to consider whether we should not direct our efforts to develop such a structure of local administration as would take care of broad-based conception of the functions of city administration with fuller participation of the people in managing their own affairs.

“Next to finances, the structure of municipal government is perhaps the most important aspect in the system of local self-government, as it has direct relevance to the performance

of the functions, achievement of the objectives and goals, and implementation of the tasks and programmes set before it. To my mind, there are four basic tenets which have to be borne in mind while examining a suitable form of organisation for a local body in a democratic set-up. *Firstly*, it would be fully representative of and responsive to the local community. *Secondly*, it should command the confidence and have capacity to mobilise local resources to the maximum extent for enhancing the welfare of the citizens. *Thirdly*, it should be able to function, efficiently and effectively, both as a policy making as well as an executive organism. Lastly, it should provide opportunity for the local leadership to develop itself for shouldering higher responsibilities in wider spheres of administration.

"It is for you, friends, to consider on the basis of your experience in different settings and situations as to in what ways the present structure fails to meet the above requirements and to what extent the cabinet system will stand the test of the above criteria.

"There is no doubt that the cabinet system has functioned well at the national and State levels. There is also, no doubt, that the present structure, particularly in the large cities, has not proved entirely successful. But how far the cabinet system will succeed in the local situations has to be considered, keeping in view the needs and aspirations of the people.

"The cabinet system would normally presuppose functioning through a party system. In the existing set-up of the local bodies functioning through the committees, the effect of the party system is considerably diluted. At present on a number of matters the opinions in the local body cut across the party lines, which may not be the case in the proposed system. It is for consideration whether the local bodies should be so organised as to function on the party system and whether this would be in the interests of better municipal government or not.

"The existing committee system has the advantage of affording opportunity to members of the minority groups in the council to be associated with the execution of functions. In what way will the cabinet system cater for this vital need of the councillors ?

"At the Central and State Government levels, there is a well defined demarcation of functions and responsibilities entrusted to different departments each under the charge of an

experienced executive who functions under the general guidance of a popular leader within a set policy-frame. In a local body, however, the sphere and scope of work being limited, it may be examined how far it would be advantageous to entrust entire responsibility to a few chosen councillors particularly in view of the accepted fact that the inability of the local bodies to discharge their functions satisfactorily is largely the result of lack of experience and expertise.

“Under the present system, the commissioner is the executive authority and all the departmental heads function under his guidance and control. The commissioner alone is answerable to the council. Under the proposed system, the departmental heads would function under the executive councillor with fair amount of insulation between various departments as is the case in the functioning of the State and the Central Governments. Since the municipal functions are so inter-related, would it not be desirable to have a unified office headed by an executive than compartmentalised departments, where day-to-day effective coordination may become a casualty? In what way and to what extent would it be possible to associate different opinions in the house with the execution of the tasks and programmes?

“Even within the present system, the distance between the citizens and the local administration has been widening with the result that there is a general attitude of helplessness and indifference towards the defaults of the municipal administration, save when they affect individual interests. You would do well to consider whether cabinet system will ultimately narrow down this gap or would lead to its further widening.

“The system of selection of councillors to form the cabinet, their responsibility to the council and the citizen, the extent to which they would be able to devote their time to affairs of the local bodies in preference to their normal vocations are yet a few other points which have to be considered in depth. Stability in administration is the keystone of its success. If as a result of introduction of cabinet system in local government stability becomes a casualty, we should think twice before doing so. It may be that no single party would command overwhelming majority in local government elections where elections are fought more on personal and other considerations than

on party programmes, and with our experience of coalition governments in some States we should avoid creating a situation where municipal governments may become a game of the political chessboard of local intrigues. The system of a Mayor, President or Chief Councillor with two or three elected persons selected by him to help him has at least one advantage that the administration of the local bodies will not generally change with the whims of unscrupulous, self-seeking and undesirable turncoats." With these words Shri Murthy declared open the deliberations of the seminar.

Professor G. Mukharji, Director of the Centre, thanked the Minister for his thought-provoking address and proposed the vote of thanks. He remarked that the purpose of the seminar was to deliberate on a better form of municipal government and he expected the seminar to give some guidelines on the future reform of municipal government in the country.

II. Morning Session (September 15, 1969)

With Shri Pannalal Mahajan, President, Amritsar Municipal Committee, in the chair the regular morning session started. The Chairman requested Shri M. Bhattacharya of the Centre for Training and Research in Municipal Administration to present his paper entitled "Management Problems in Municipal Government and the Relevance of the Cabinet System". Shri Bhattacharya dealt with the main issues involved in the subject of the seminar and pointed out that this discussion was not simply of academic interest, as many of the State Governments were actively considering the problem of equipping the municipal authorities with a proper organisational framework. Once we are convinced, said Shri Bhattacharya, that the existing structure is really defective, only then we can think of alternative solutions. He observed that the foundations of our urban local government were laid in the last century and after that not much attention was paid to reform the system of municipal government. In the bigger cities such as Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and others, the Bombay model of corporation government has been in force. In other municipalities the council-committee system is prevalent. Before taking up the problem of the corporation system of government, Shri Bhattacharya wanted to briefly deal with the management problems involved

in the council-committee system. The council-committee system, he said, is based on the 19th century idea of direct responsibility of every councillor for the administration of a particular local area. In an era of limited municipal functions and dearth of paid municipal staff, it was necessary in those days that each councillor should do his best to run the municipal administration. The committee system was thus intended to give every popular representative some share in running the local administration. It is common knowledge, however, he observed, that in India the committee system could not develop in the manner as it did in Britain. The chief reasons for the weakness of our committee system are limited municipal functions, financial poverty and reluctance of the group in power to delegate powers to the committees. Shri Bhattacharya remarked that the committee system was a useful device for enabling the local councillors to have a first-hand experience of municipal administration. But at the same time it had a tendency to fragment municipal administration and divide it into several functional components. Even in England, where the committee system blossomed fully, said Shri Bhattacharya, it has been felt that the committee system has also stood in the way of effective administrative coordination. Apart from the difficulties involved in the committee system, the role of the municipal president/chairman and his relationship with the council have also given rise to certain complications. The president in the Indian municipality has been conceived as the real executive head who would oversee the day-to-day administration of the municipality. In reality, however, the president has hardly been given by the council adequate power to run the administrative machine. Also, as an amateur administrator the president has found it difficult to meet the myriad problems of urban administration. Where an executive officer has been provided for, the relationship between the president and the executive officer has not always been very cordial. A council may use an executive officer effectively if it is ready to delegate substantial powers to him, but in many instances the council has been reluctant to delegate adequate powers to him. In a number of States, mainly down south, the council-committee system has not been favoured in the municipalities; instead a system of government has been introduced which is very much similar to the corporation form of government.

So, Shri Bhattacharya said, the problems of these municipalities can be discussed along with those of the corporation cities.

The internal management problems of the municipal corporations, Shri Bhattacharya remarked, stem from the statutory fragmentation of authority which is a characteristic feature of all the corporation Acts in force in India. The distinctive feature of corporation government is what is commonly called the separation of executive and deliberative powers. The corporation lays down broad policies, frames bye-laws, sanctions budget and keeps a general watch over executive administration. But the entire executive authority is statutorily vested in the commissioner who is appointed by the State Government. The commissioner, Shri Bhattacharya pointed out, occupies the status of a coordinate municipal authority and derives powers directly from the law. The fragmentation of authority in corporation government is aggravated by the constitution of a number of a statutory functional committees. The net effect of this administrative organisation is that in corporation government the focus of authority is indeterminate.

The structure of corporation government, remarked Shri Bhattacharya, is designed on a dubious assumption that in governmental operations 'policy' and 'administration' are two distinct and divisible functions which can be entrusted to two separate authorities. It is not very easy to define the terms, and in the practical world of governance, especially in the field of local government, policy and administration are inextricably intertwined. In the context of Indian municipal government, it should be borne in mind, he said, that the independent coordinate authority of the commissioner dates back to a stage in the constitutional evolution of the country when representative municipal government was struggling to be born and official dominance was universal. Corporation government originated in the Presidency towns where the then ruling class had a vital stake in their administration and they could hardly afford to entrust executive authority even to a partially elected council. With the inauguration of constitutional democracy after Independence, the retention of the Government-appointed commissioner as a coordinate and independent statutory municipal

authority has hardly any justification. When a civil servant is placed as a coordinate statutory municipal authority, it involves an unwarranted trespass into the domain of the representative local council. If he is defended as a check on the popular element, the argument would betray a queer distrust of representative government itself. As the history of corporation government in India shows, the statutory division of deliberative and executive powers has been a constant source of friction between the commissioner and the corporation. The commissioner's attempts to run the executive administration without political interference have frequently been thwarted by pressures from the elective wing. On the other hand, the elected city fathers have argued, not without justification, that since they are often blamed for the deficiencies and failures in civic administration, the statutory responsibility for executive administration must be theirs. Thus, observed Shri Bhattacharya, a debilitating conflict of authority has been built into the constitution of corporation government. In practice the commissioner and the corporation must work in harmony as necessary complements to each other, but the law has driven a wedge between the two.

Fragmentation of authority, Shri Bhattacharya continued, poses serious problems of administrative coordination. In corporation government the locus of authority is indeterminate which stands in the way of smooth internal management and progressive city planning and development. For instance, the commissioner may be responsible for executive administration, but in most cases he does not have ultimate authority over staff matters. Similarly, for making appointments and contracts, powers are distributed among several authorities which, not infrequently, leads to the slowing down of the pace of administration. Due to fragmented structure and splintering of authority, the needs of the city as a whole, its perspective planning for progressive development, and single-minded attention to mobilisation of resources and enlisting of active popular support for civic development projects seem to be nobody's concern. A commissioner may be a very efficient administrator, but he cannot be expected to play the role of a political leader. While the councillors would aver that they are partly, and not wholly, responsible for the city's governance,

as executive administration has been statutorily taken out of their control. The standing committee, as provided for in the Corporation Acts of Bombay, Delhi and Hyderabad, has tried to assume the role of a coordinating mechanism—the focal point of city administration, which is intended to gather up the diverse threads of administration and give it a unity of purpose. As a microcosm of the corporation, it knows the mind of the elected wing; and being a small body, it works in a more business-like manner and takes decisions in a calmer atmosphere unruffled by the din and fury of corporation sessions. Although the commissioner is not legally subordinate to the standing committee, in practice he finds it convenient to work in close association with the standing committee. The standing committee has the potentialities of a plural political executive acting as a bridge between the corporation and the executive administration headed by the commissioner. But the implied conception of non-partisan municipal government has stood in the way of its emerging much like a cabinet system which is in vogue at the Central and State levels. The Corporation Acts invariably provide for partial election of the members of the standing committee every year on the idea that its membership is non-permanent. Again, some Acts provide for proportional representation which goes against the concept of political homogeneity so vital for a cabinet system. The placement of the commissioner as a coordinate, and not subordinate, authority also produces an anomalous relationship between the standing committee and the chief executive, the commissioner.

Although it has been felt that the existing forms of municipal government in India have not met with much success, Shri Bhattacharya observed, it is rather surprising that very few reform proposals have been mooted and seriously pursued to change the 19th century municipal structure. After Independence, a short-lived experiment was made in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Bharat with the presidential system of municipal government, the president being directly elected by the people. In recent days, the corporation form of government has been under fire and the corporators have time and again inveighed against the statutory independence of the commissioner and pointed out the unworkability and undesirability in a democracy of the statutory separation of deliberative and executive powers.

It is in this connection that the introduction of the cabinet system of government at the municipal level has been favoured by the mayors and corporators of important corporations such as Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Poona, Nagpur, Sholapur and a few others (as reported in the Report of the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee, Vol. III, 1966). As a concrete measure, Shri Bhattacharya pointed out, the Metropolitan Council of Delhi had passed a Bill (No. 59 of 1966) proposing a Mayor-in-Council form of municipal government for Delhi in replacement of the present Municipal Corporation. The Bill was forwarded to the Parliament for enactment, but due to the general elections intervening, the measure could not be passed. It was explained in the 'Statement of Objects and Reasons' that the Bill contemplated important changes in the organisational set-up of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi to enable that body to function more efficiently. Under the Delhi Municipal Corporation Act, 1957, the executive power for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act vests in the Commissioner but in a number of cases, he can act only with the previous sanction or approval of the Standing Committee or the Corporation. The scheme embodied in the Bill provides for the executive functions being vested in the Mayor-in-Council consisting of the Mayor who will be elected by the members of the Corporation and two Deputy Mayors who will be appointed by the Administrator (of the Union Territory of Delhi) on the advice of the Mayor. The Commissioner will be the principal executive officer of the Corporation and will exercise the powers and perform the duties conferred or imposed on him under the Act subject to the supervision and control of the Mayor-in-Council. The form of municipal government envisaged in the Bill comes close to the cabinet system of government. The Mayor and the two Deputy Mayors constituting the Mayor-in-Council will be responsible for the executive administration of the Corporation; at the same time, they will be members of the Corporation. The Mayor will be removable by a resolution passed by a majority of all the members of the Corporation. Thus, the fusion of executive and legislative wings which is the fundamental characteristic of cabinet system of government is achieved, and the accountability of the Mayor-in-Council to the Corporation ensured. The Commissioner,

under the proposed system, will be appointed by the Mayor-in-Council with the approval of the Administrator, and he will function subject to the supervision and control of the Mayor-in-Council. This provision obviously aims at abrogating the old duality in Corporation administration. Also, the existing fragmentation of authority has been sought to be removed by abolishing the Standing Committee and making the constitution of committees optional. As the first serious attempt after Independence to radically change the constitution of city government, the Mayor-in-Council Bill, as Shri Bhattacharya said, is no doubt a landmark in the history of municipal government in India.

On a closer scrutiny, Shri Bhattacharya remarked, the form of municipal government proposed for Delhi exhibits a number of glaring defects. For instance, a three-man council is too small to supervise and control the various functional departments. Also, a small cabinet is apt to antagonise influential party leaders many of whom would aspire after a position in the cabinet. Since only the Mayor is removable by the Corporation, the principle of joint responsibility has been overlooked in the proposed system. Under the projected set-up, no distinction has been made between a titular executive and a real executive. In such circumstances, the Mayor will have to function both as an ornamental figurehead and as the head of the executive organ, which would put too much strain on the busy Mayor. The Mayor, or in his absence the Senior Deputy Mayor, will be presiding over the meetings of the Corporation. This provision creates an anomalous situation; for, the Mayor who is head of the Mayor-in-Council, the political executive, should not simultaneously hold the position of speakership of the Corporation. A separate provision needs to be made for the election of a President and a Vice-President of the Corporation from among the corporators who will preside over every meeting of the Corporation. Another important defect, which may pose a threat to the successful working of the Mayor-in-Council, as Shri Bhattacharya said, is that the opposition will have almost no real share in the exercise of governmental power. Committees, if constituted, will be advisory in nature. He thought that, on the lines of the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee at higher levels of government, statutory Accounts

and Estimates Committees elected on the basis of proportional representation would have ensured a positive role of the opposition in keeping a watch on the municipal administration.

In spite of these defects, observed Shri Bhattacharya, the proposed Mayor-in-Council system of government may well form a basis for starting a meaningful discussion on reforms in municipal structure. The cabinet form of government is certainly not the only type of government that can be introduced at the municipal level. But, it has certain distinct advantages. In the first place, the cabinet system establishes a plural executive as distinguished from the singular executive in a strong-mayor or presidential system of government. It has, therefore, more room for accommodating at least the important political leaders and offering them a share in the exercise of power. In the second place, a harmonious integration of the executive and the legislative wings is achieved through this system which thus steers clear of any possible deadlock between the two under a presidential system of government. Because of the not-too-pleasant history of concentration of executive authority in the municipal commissioner, politically any attempt to install a presidential system of municipal government may run into rough weather. Lastly, the cabinet system has the great merit of being easily understandable, as it has been in operation for a fairly long time at the State and Central levels.

So far as the municipal corporations and bigger municipalities are concerned, Shri Bhattacharya remarked, there is not much difficulty in introducing the cabinet system of government in them. The councils in these cases are fairly large and political parties have in fact gravitated toward them. This may not hold good in the case of smaller municipalities having not-too-large councils. Even then, it is possible in such instances to conceive of a small but plural political executive consisting of the municipal president and two or three deputies who would guide, direct and control the executive administration and, at the same time, communicate with the elected council to which they will be accountable for their actions.

There are various types of municipal governments in operation in different parts of the world, and it is easy, said Shri Bhattacharya, to be tempted by one type or the other and to urge for its adoption. One must not forget, however, he cautioned, that

governmental forms are not just mechanical constructs; they grow out of distinct socio-political situations. Again, there are certain core values in a society which are sought to be preserved and promoted through a particular structure of government. Political institutions last or languish according as they succeed or fail in keeping in step with the dominant societal needs and norms. In India, according to Shri Bhattacharya, the crisis in municipal government has its origin in the deliberate non-acceptance of the fundamental core value of Indian polity, namely, democracy. Translated in local terms, municipal democracy means that the municipal government of an urban area is essentially the responsibility of a group of locally elected popular representatives. Such a concept of local democracy does not allow of an interposition of any other competitive authority and it is a fundamental postulate of a democratic form of government, observed Shri Bhattacharya, that the non-political permanent executive must be subordinated to the political executive. Municipal government in India, especially the corporation form of government, he said, has been working under the illusion that a system of government can endure even by neglecting the core value of a political society. Time is not far, he warned, when this illusion will be shattered by the surging realities.

After the presentation of paper by Shri Bhattacharya, the Chairman requested Shri C.B. Rao, Ex-Mayor of Allahabad to read his paper entitled 'Cabinet System of Municipal Government'. Shri Rao was critical of the present system of municipal government which, he thought, was neither democratic nor efficient and he felt that there was no running away from the democratic system at the local level. A cabinet system of government must, he said, be based on a system of election on political party lines. For, unless a municipal council is elected on that basis, there can emerge no majority group the leader of which could be asked to form a cabinet. Of course municipal, as any other, elections could be fought out between groups formed otherwise than on the basis of political affiliations, but since local government must needs work in the closest collaboration (or conflict ?) with the state governments, and since state governments are and must needs continue to be, formed on political party lines, it is simplest and most natural that municipal elections

should also be conducted on the same lines. It is inevitable that groups will be formed, both in the course and at the conclusion of elections. People do not fight elections alone, nor do they conduct themselves in legislatures and municipal councils as so many unattached individuals. To win an election they must get together and form some kind of a union or team, and after winning an election they must again form some sort of a working group if they want to achieve something, to get something done or prevent something from being done. Alliances are, thus, essential. And it is at once more natural, more convenient and, in the long run, more workable, said Shri Rao, to form permanent alliances than *ad hoc* ones. A permanent majority in a body like a municipal council is obviously a valuable asset.

That being so, he continued, what could be more natural or more meaningful than a municipal group formed on the basis of political affiliations? Such a group would start with many advantages, the biggest of which would be its ability to endure. Much can be, and has been, said for as well as against the conduct of municipal affairs on political party lines, but if it is conceded that they must needs be conducted on some kind of party lines in any case, that there is no escape from group—or team-formation whatever we may try to do, then it would seem idle to discuss the matter at all. For if candidates and their supporters and elected members, once the votes are counted and results declared, will in any case form groups of some sort or other, is it not infinitely better, as well as more realistic that they should form them along political party lines than otherwise? To mention but one obvious advantage, Shri Rao remarked, if elected members of municipal councils grouped themselves along political party lines they would at least avoid the temptation of forming groups on the basis of caste and community. In the India of today that is a danger not to be lightly disregarded.

We may assume, Shri Rao maintained, even if only because otherwise a discussion of a cabinet system in municipal government would be meaningless, that municipal elections will continue to be fought on party lines. We would then get over the first hurdle to the formation of a local, municipal cabinet; as in the case of a state legislature, the local or regional representative of the Governor could send for the leader of the largest

political group in the freshly elected municipal council and ask him whether he is prepared to form a stable government. He must ask that, for if it were made impossible under the law for a municipal government to be thrown out of office, it would not be a responsible government at all. Therefore what we must postulate, Shri Rao observed, is a municipal constitution under which the accredited leader of a well-defined majority group of elected councillors is prepared to undertake the responsibility of forming a municipal government that will be able to stay in office in the face of opposition attempts to throw it out by out-voting it on some important enough issue. The leader of the majority group will, in other words, correspond to a Chief Minister in a state government. If he is also the mayor, *i.e.*, if the mayor is the head of the municipal government, obviously another person must be elected as chairman of the municipal council—and that chairman would be nothing but a chairman, he would exercise no executive authority outside the forum. Either condition is possible, for the appellation, *mayor*, may be used either for the executive head of the municipal administration or the presiding officer of the deliberative forum.

Let us assume, then, he said, that a municipal election has taken place and a well-defined group has emerged as the majority group in the elected house and its acknowledged leader has been invited to form a government and has accepted the invitation. What does he do next? Obviously he looks around and selects as many of the most suitable and useful persons as he needs, from within his group, to constitute the municipal cabinet. We now come up against the really important questions that would need to be examined. First what manner of men would this leader of the majority group have to choose his team from?

What are the various motives, said Shri Rao, which attract people to seek membership of a municipal council? Very few could be attracted by a profit motive—in the restricted sense of monetary profit—because the chances of making a lot of money through one's membership of a municipality are neither numerous nor too bright. Moreover, it seems cynical to assume that most citizens are basically not only selfish but also dishonest. Some may, indeed some must, be motivated by the lure of financial gain, but their number cannot be large. Similarly, the number

of genuinely public-spirited men, who want to become members of a municipal body because they are eager to do good, must also be small. If it would be cynical to assume that most men are fundamentally dishonest, it would certainly be too idealistic to believe that our cities are crowded with Good Samaritans. Ordinarily, observed Shri Rao, most of the elected members are there because they have been impelled by the belief that membership of the municipal council will bring them not only added prestige but also increased local influence and some power to use that influence for their friends' and fellow citizens' good. The majority of members probably are motivated principally by a desire to improve their local image, some with a view to future advantage, others for lesser but more immediate gains. Except in very large cities where their number may be considerable, it is hardly likely that a municipal council will have enough men of adequate ability as well as local prestige to make good municipal cabinet ministers.

Another point to be considered is, as Shri Rao remarked, the time that these men would be able to give to municipal work. Unless adequately compensated, very few would be able to take on whole-time jobs, and few municipal bodies would be in a position adequately to compensate a sufficient number of men who are truly good enough. And those that tried to so compensate them must guard against making their administrative structure far too top heavy to sustain. Again, he posed the question, will there be enough work to keep elected municipal cabinet ministers occupied for more than part of the time each day? Not unless the elected municipal cabinet ministers were to replace the higher ranking paid officials. But if the higher ranking paid officials were to be replaced by elected men, the consequences may be disastrous because there would be an immediate and very considerable loss of efficiency, since the elected men would bring little experience and no technical knowledge to the jobs. Moreover, being but birds of passage, they would also lack the incentive to learn what they did not know. The higher ranking supervisory staff must needs be there for the work to be carried on with reasonable efficiency. Actually even the municipal commissioner, or by whatever name the principal executive officer is designated, would be difficult to replace with an elected member or minister because a

municipal cabinet will also need an officer corresponding to the Chief Secretary in a State Government's secretariat. The municipal commissioner will automatically slide into the position of a Chief Secretary in a municipal secretariat.

It is not only that there will not be sufficient men of sufficient ability and local prestige to adequately fill the position of municipal cabinet ministers, the work and responsibility involved, observed Shri Rao, would also not justify the creation of a sufficient number of such posts to make a sizable municipal cabinet. We must, therefore, devise some other method by which we may gain the advantages of a cabinet system of government for our cities without placing unbearable strains on their financial resources. For, there are certain advantages which can only be secured through the adoption, in an adapted form, of what is known as the cabinet system of government.

The municipal council having come into being on the basis of elections fought on party lines and the mayor having been elected by the entire body of elected members and aldermen, Shri Rao continued, the person chosen as mayor should be authorised to nominate not only his own deputy mayor but also the entire executive committee and such other statutory committees as there may be. He will probably confine his choice to his own partymen as far as possible, but there should be no bar to his choosing others. No matter whom he selects, the team he chooses will be his 'cabinet' and will function as a team under his captaincy—even as a team of cabinet ministers functions under the leadership of a Chief Minister.

This kind of municipal government, said Shri Rao, will correspond, more or less, to a cabinet government, and have the advantages of cohesive and collaborative planning and execution. The opposition—for it is obvious that under such a system an opposition is bound to emerge—will keep this municipal cabinet on its toes, providing a healthy threat to its existence if it went too far off the rails. It will be possible then to build up a system of organised and responsible contact between the local political groups within municipal bodies and their larger units in the state and central legislatures. The former could then be more meaningfully called the nurseries or training grounds for the latter.

The biggest advantage of this kind of adaptation of the

cabinet system of government for municipal purposes, Shri Rao pointed out, would be that it would make the elected wing at once more effective and more responsible than it can be in the absence of a strong enough incentive to function as a body of disciplined groups. We shall then not have the ridiculous exhibition of an executive committee elected according to the system of proportional representation speak and even vote against the budget they themselves are supposed to present to the house.

A minimum of a three-year term of office would be necessary, he said, for such a municipal cabinet to be able effectively to plan and execute measures of public good. If the title of mayor be considered unsuitable as the head of such a cabinet, since he too would require a three-year term like the cabinet heads, the mayor may hold office for a year and only preside over meetings of the corporation and perform other formal and ceremonial functions and the head of the cabinet may be called chief executive councillor. The designation is not important; what is important, observed Shri Rao, is that the head of the team of elected members who will form a municipal cabinet—consisting of the deputy mayor, if there be one, and all members of all statutory committees—should himself nominate his entire team, to ensure cohesion, collaboration and continuity.

After Shri C. B. Rao had finished reading his paper, the Chairman requested Prof. M. A. Muttalib of the Osmania University, to present his paper on "A Case for Cabinet Form of Municipal Executive". Prof. Muttalib made the opening remark that he was happy that the subject of the seminar had been chosen. He elaborated the problem of the municipal executive and discussed the feasibility of introduction of the cabinet system in municipal government.

Although chronologically municipal bodies have been the first to have received democratic order in the whole political fabric of the country, he observed, the municipal executive is still an unsettled issue. The issue is no longer academic with the phenomenal changes in area and population of the modern city and consequently the growing volume and complexity of civic problems. It assumes great importance in the absence of a managing body being entrusted with the function of directing and controlling civic activities and yet being responsible to

the council in whom is vested the ultimate responsibility for the administration of the municipal body. There is no executive organ of government in the legal sense of the term. It is the generality of councillors who are involved in the process of deciding what should be done by virtue of their chairmanship and membership of the council and of various committees, said Prof. Muttalib. Since the transfer of Local Government along with a few other subjects to the Provincial Governments under the Government of India Act, 1919, the municipal executive has assumed a variety of forms. A significant trend discernible in this respect is that the two main categories of municipal bodies, namely, city corporations and district municipalities have witnessed two diverging tendencies in this respect. Following the Bombay pattern of separation of the executive from deliberative functions, almost every city corporation has adopted what is popularly called the commissioner type or corporation type of city government. The city corporation consists of three co-ordinate authorities, viz., the corporation itself, the standing committee (or standing committees) and the commissioner. They are hierarchically graded, with the corporation at the top. Having received well-defined statutory positions and functions, they tend to function independent of one another. While the corporation is primarily a deliberative wing of the city government it is invested with several executive powers of managerial character. It exercises supervision and control of municipal administration through the committees and the commissioner. If the committees occupy a twilight zone between the deliberative and executive wings of the city government, the Commissioner is primarily to function as the chief executive officer and thus solely charged with the execution aspects of the city corporation.

The city corporations, Prof. Muttalib continued, differ in respect of the role of the mayor and/or the deputy mayor, and the committees. By and large, the mayor who occupies the position of the first citizen in all cities performs ceremonial functions only and presides over the sessions of the council. Certain city corporations like the Corporation of Bangalore have taken care statutorily to keep him above party politics by disallowing him to be the chairman of any of the standing committees. Contrastingly, observed Prof. Muttalib, in Uttar

Pradesh certain categories of municipal appointments are made by him in consultation with the State Public Service Commission, while the deputy mayor acts as the chairman of the principal committee, viz., the executive committee and of the development committee in his *ex-officio* capacity. Again in the Madras Corporation, the Mayor is a channel of communication between the Corporation and outside agencies and occupies a special position in relation to important committees like the Central Committee, the Contracts Committee and the Appointments Committee. He is accorded the position of *ex-officio* membership (along with his deputy) of the first Committee and chairmanship of the last two Committees.

The committee system continued Prof. Muttalib, provides the other basis for differentiation between city corporations. Largely, there are three patterns: (a) disintegrated system, (b) integrated system, and (c) functional committees with one principal statutory committee. In Calcutta and Bangalore, committees are functional with statutory basis. The service committees like those on finance and personnel, perform functions coordinative in nature in their respective spheres; otherwise, no committee is invested with any coordinating or integrating role. Madras Corporation has two types of committees, zonal and functional. The whole city is divided into two districts. Each district is sub-divided into five circles. Each circle has a circle committee constituted for each of the ten divisions consisting of ten councillors. Each circle committee has a circle office consisting of the circle health officer, the circle engineer and other staff. Then, at the apex is the Central Committees along with the functional committees, viz., the Contracts Committee, the Appointments Committee, and the Accounts Committee. The Central Committee is organically connected with the circle committees with a representative from each of them. It coordinates their activities. The other corporations fall under the third category in so far as the functional committees are the creation of the council, whereas the principal committee is the statutory committee. In Hyderabad, Bombay and Delhi, there is the Standing Committee. In Bombay and Delhi, in addition to the Standing Committee there are more than one statutory committee concerned with road transport, water supply, electricity, etc.

No single nomenclature may be given to the variety of forms of executive in operation in municipalities in different States, said Prof. Muttalib. In Madras alone, he continued, the executive in the municipalities comes closer to that prevalent in the corporations. Practically in all other States the principle of separation of the executive from the deliberative functions, which is the distinctive feature of corporation type of city government, is non-existent in the municipalities, although there is usually an executive officer to assist the municipal chairman in the discharge of executive functions. The chairman is not a gubernatorial functionary like the mayor in the city corporation. He is the head of both deliberative and executive wings and wields considerable power over the executive officer. He presides over the meetings of the council and guides its deliberations. He presides over the committees and practically provides a coordinating link between the committees and between the committees and the council. In his executive capacity, he exercises control over the executive personnel and over financial and administrative matters. Generally it is the chairman who acts as a channel of communication between the municipality and the outside agencies including the State Government.

There exists a degree of heterogeneity, said Prof. Muttalib, in respect of executive powers exercised by the chairman. Perhaps the strongest municipal chairman is to be found in Orissa, where the Chairman (president) exercises the power of appointing and controlling the staff. In the States of Uttar Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Andhra Pradesh, and Rajasthan, the power of appointing staff is shared between the chairman and the executive officer. In Gujarat, he acts as the appellate authority against the orders of the executive officer punishing members of the staff. Much of the mal-administration in municipalities is attributed to the weak position of the executive officer. The extreme position may be found in Andhra Pradesh, where the executive officer (the municipal secretary) is practically reduced to the position of a glorified clerk. Theoretically, the staff is subordinate to him, but in practice the principle of unity of command is the main casualty.

The Committee system in district municipalities, observed Prof. Muttalib, is indicative of the trends similar to those in the city corporations. Generally, the committees operate on

functional basis. In Maharashtra, an integrated system is in operation. The inspiration seems to have been derived from the Zila Parishad. There is a standing committee presided over by the chairman of the municipality, with its vice-chairman as vice-chairman, chairmen of subject committees and a few elected councillors as members of the standing committee. The council, the standing committee and the subject committees operate on the basis of graded hierarchy. But the Andhra Pradesh Municipalities Act, 1965, has dispensed with the committee system. It stipulates the executive committee as the only committee and as one of the four municipal authorities with broad-based statutory foundation.

The city corporations and the district municipalities, continued Prof. Muttalib, may largely be distinguished in respect of the dual aspects of the municipal executive, namely, political and administrative leaderships. The most distinctive characteristic feature of city corporations is that the commissioner who is usually drawn from the Indian Administrative Service, is expected to provide effective administrative leadership to the municipal staff. Generally speaking, no such executive leadership is available to the district municipalities.

So far as political leadership is concerned, Prof. Muttalib said, it is of dispersed character both in city corporations and in the municipalities, although the chairman tends to have an edge over other municipal authorities. If the municipalities suffer from lack of effective administrative and political direction, the city corporations' serious drawback stems from ineffective political leadership which has adversely affected the efficacy of the institution of municipal commissioner, which is intended to ensure integrated efficient and de-politicised municipal administration. In the presence of a large council and a multiplicity of committees with plural character operating as uncoordinated centres and semi-centres of decision-making, the commissioner is required to function in a situation not known to the city manager in the United States.

The situation, continued Prof. Muttalib, is super charged by political and sociological factors. In the absence of a well-organised party system, the committees suffer from lack of ideological drive, coherence, and consistency. The civic bodies have failed in general to attract persons of calibre due to the inadequate

scope for service to the people resulting from rigid State control. Further, the social climate of a pluralist urban society seems to be another inhibiting factor. Parties have not articulated effectively the pluralism of interests and opinions. The bonds of kinship, religion, caste, etc., are strong. The proximity of the councillors to the soil and the difficulty in subjecting them to any code of conduct or discipline, tend to make them susceptible to ill practices. If the present arrangement of ineffective political leadership has generated functional contradictions, the commissioner's tendency is to be rigid and to adhere strictly to his rule-minded approach. This generally results in deadlock and inertia in administration. Before any alternative arrangement is thought of, argued Prof. Muttalib, it is desirable to examine the existing arrangement, as to whether it may be developed into a form that may provide effective political direction to the council and the administration on the one hand, and full operational freedom to the officials on the other. In some cities the need for a managing body seems to have been perceived or has been explicitly stated. One may note some developments in this respect. The prominence of the principal committee in the city corporations may be attributed to statutory position and/or service functions relating to finance and personnel. The standing committee in the cities of Bombay, Delhi and Hyderabad, the executive committee in the cities of Uttar Pradesh may be mentioned in this connection. The standing committee in the city corporations would have emerged even more clearly as something like a cabinet but for certain inhibiting factors, *i.e.*, selection of its members on the basis of proportional representation, annual election of its chairman and members, the executive role of the subject committees and the accessibility of the commissioner to the council. The first factor tends to place a premium on minority representation rendering it difficult for the standing committee to acquire a homogeneous character distinctive of a cabinet form of executive. The second weakens the position of its chairman and members in relation to the administrative wing, particularly the commissioner, who out-stays them. The third factor, *viz.*, the executive role of the subject committees results in the fragmentation of policy decisions and dispersal of responsibility. Finally, the accessibility of the commissioner is likely to undermine

the role of the standing committee in affording effective political leadership. This is because of the statutory position of the commissioner and his right to ask for the inclusion of any item for discussion by the council. At times, when there has been a difference of opinion between the commissioner and the committees, the decisions have been referred to the council for ratification. Any explanation by the commissioner in this regard will amount to his appealing to the council over the heads of the committees.

In the municipalities the executive authority, Prof. Muttalib said, is shared by a number of authorities causing not only fragmentation of decisions but also conflict of power between them. In addition to the council, the committees, the executive officer and the chairman also share executive power.

In the Maharashtra municipalities, Prof. Muttalib pointed out, the standing committee is designed to function as the 'local cabinet' for all practical purposes. Functionally, it serves as a channel of communication between the subject committees and the parent body. Further, it is organically connected with all the subject committees, in view of the provision that their chairmen will be *ex-officio* members of the standing committee.

The standing committee in the Maharashtra municipalities, observed Prof. Muttalib, comes closer to the cabinet form of executive than does its counterpart in the city corporations. But the standing committee in Maharashtra is prevented from assuming the role of a real cabinet for a variety of reasons. First, the plural character of the subject committees will militate against the maintenance of a close and helpful administrative relationship with the standing committee as the central executive organ. Secondly, with a heterogeneous group of persons at the helm the delicate relationship that exists between the political and permanent executives, would be subjected to great strain. Thirdly, each committee with a member of the standing committee in the chair and with final decision-making powers, and constituting a bridge between the standing committee and the departments, will develop itself as a self-contained, self-sufficient and self-important authority, that would undermine the importance of the standing committee as the central executive organ. Finally, the fibre of parties and consequently of the executive

would be greatly weakened with the interposition of committees combining the characteristics of specialised standing committees and the executive committee.

So far as the executive committee in the Andhra Pradesh municipalities is concerned, observed Prof. Muttalib, it is more like the municipal cabinet than the standing committees of the city corporations and in the Maharashtra municipalities. The executive committee not merely derives its status and authority directly from the Act like its counterpart in the Maharashtra municipalities and the city corporations; it is more powerful than the latter. Thus, it is to exercise executive powers for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act and is directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the purposes of the Act. It is charged with carrying into effect the resolutions of the council in several matters. It is to furnish to the council periodical reports regarding the progress made in carrying out the resolutions of the council.

The executive committee, however, Prof. Muttalib remarked, suffers from serious limitations preventing it from emerging as a real municipal cabinet. The method of election of members of the executive committee in accordance with the system of proportional representation denies it a homogeneous character. Moreover, the council is not competent to destroy its own creature, *viz.*, the executive committee without the support of two-thirds of its strength and the approval of the Government. On the other hand, the Government can dissolve the executive committee, if in its opinion it is incompetent or persistently makes default in performing the duties imposed on it by law or exceeds or abuses its position or powers.

A few changes of far-reaching effect should be contemplated, observed Prof. Muttalib, if the standing committee or the executive committee which contains the germ of a true 'policy committee', is to function in an effective manner like a cabinet acting as the sole spokesman of the council and as the tool of administrative control. This entails the incorporation of the essence of cabinet form of government. First, there should be a single executive committee of the council and all others should be merely advisory committees. Secondly, the leader of the majority party in the council who would be its chairman should nominate its members. Thirdly, the chairmanship

of the council and of the proposed executive committee should not be combined in the same hands as is the case now in the municipalities. One should not be the chairman of the other; otherwise, it amounts to calling upon the Speaker to act as the Prime Minister. Fourthly, the committee should be collectively responsible to the council and ultimately dependent on it for support for its actions. Finally, the committee and not the chief executive officer should be answerable to the council for civic administration, while the chief executive officer should be under the overall supervision of the committee.

More or less on these lines, said Prof. Muttalib, reforms in local government are being contemplated in U.K., the home of local government by committees. Thus, he pointed out, the Maud Committee on Management of Local Government has made recommendations for the creation of the Management Board of Councillors charged with overall supervision and direction of local administration. The committees will cease to have any concern with details of day-to-day administration. They would be generally deliberative and advisory bodies. However, if the recommendation of the Maud Committee, that the Management Board should be composed of members of both majority and minority parties, is accepted, the Board will be reduced to an organ of registration of the decisions of the majority party. The real decisions would have been taken at private meetings of the party without the benefit of advice from officers. Further, the concept of a plural Board, argued Prof. Muttalib, will lead to divided government, which would hardly provide a coherent and consistent leadership to administration, unless municipal government is run on non-partisan lines. Likewise, the members of the proposed executive committee, he said, should be available on full-time basis and they should be paid salaries like their counterparts at the State and national levels.

For a variety of reasons, observed Prof. Muttalib, an undiluted cabinet form of municipal executive may be favoured for the metropolitan and medium-size cities :

(1) There should be identical forms of government at all levels—national, State and local—if the local bodies are to provide the training ground for politicians aspiring to positions at higher levels. Our municipal bodies have tried almost all

conceivable forms of executive except the cabinet form. It is the pattern of executive at the national and State levels and we have been familiar with it for about 50 years—ever since Dyarchy was introduced under the Government of India Act, 1919.

(2) Introduction of the cabinet form of executive at local level will help improve the working of its counterpart at the State level. Thus it will remedy the situation characterised by floor-crossing in the State legislature. If the cabinet form of executive is extended to the local level, because of their proximity and relatively smaller constituencies, the turncoats will be subjected to greater exposure and thus the disease of defection could be properly diagnosed by their voters. Although this may amount to the transfer of the headache to the local bodies, the disease will not only have limited effect but also it can be effectively remedied.

(3) Apart from the enjoyment of the loaves and fishes, there is the pursuit of power in the interest of service to the people that attracts some of the best talents and minds. Both the elements—power and service—lack in the existing forms of municipal government. Therefore, the power and prestige attached to cabinet form of executive and the scope for service to the people will attract talented people. The local council which is generally a talking shop without being effective in decision-making, can have purposeful discussion with the qualitative improvement in political leadership.

(4) With the improvement of the quality of political leadership, administration can expect protection against the excesses of local democracy. Thus, with the local ministers occupying the treasury benches, the system will develop a shock-absorber in the political executive for the administration in relation to the council, conceding the former full operational freedom and thereby making local government more attractive to potential officers. With these concluding remarks, Prof. Muttalib ended up his discussion.

After the papers were read, the chairman had thrown open the subject for discussion. The first participant to speak on the subject favoured the introduction of cabinet system in municipal government. Since the cabinet system is in operation at the Centre and in the States, he said, there is no reason why the

same system could not be adopted in the case of municipalities also. Party system is in vogue at all levels. Under the present system obtaining in the corporations, he remarked, the commissioner is the executive authority. Although the mayor is also there, it is the responsibility of the commissioner to make statements and give explanations for his activities. In his opinion, if responsibility is given to somebody for a particular task, he must also be endowed with the requisite authority. In the present system, he said, authority lies in many important matters elsewhere than in the body which is to deliver the goods. In the corporation, he pointed out, the commissioner is the executive authority. The commissioner might desire to introduce a system of discipline under which bad work would be punished and good work rewarded. But if the powers to punish or reward the subordinates lie elsewhere, he felt, the commissioner would find it difficult to deliver the goods and bring in discipline among the staff. In a nutshell, he said, authority and responsibility must go hand in hand together and the best way to ensure this is the introduction of a cabinet system. Another point made by him was that the commissioner being a serviceman and not a politician, found it difficult to answer a number of questions and supplementaries and to sit in the midst of the elected representatives. Although the commissioner is not a politician, he observed, all the questions put to him are politically motivated for obvious reasons. The present system, he said, affected the efficiency of the commissioner and his capacity to deliver the goods. When the appointment authority is not vested in his hands, the disciplinary action also does not lie in his hands. To that extent the authority of the commissioner is vitiated. Referring to budget making, he observed, the party in power in the corporation would like a certain amount to be collected, but the authority to collect revenues is vested in the commissioner. He thought that it would be better if the political executive had taken over the entire responsibility. Thus, he reiterated that responsibility and authority should go hand in hand together. He pointed out that the peculiar position of the municipal commissioner under the corporation system of government was due to the fact that the commissioner had to be a buffer between the majority party and the minority interests. But, he said that he was convinced that the present system must be

replaced by the cabinet system of government and maintained that it was not difficult to find out safeguards against the abuse of power.

The next speaker spoke against the introduction of the cabinet system of government in municipal bodies. In his opinion, the local bodies, unlike the Parliament and the State Legislatures, are not essentially political bodies; they are to meet the civic needs of the people, irrespective of political bias. He feared that if the cabinet system was introduced in municipal bodies, it would be based on politics and the municipal body would be divided between the ruling party and the opposition parties. Referring to the old system of municipal government as it obtained in Delhi right up to 1958, he observed that in the old system the ruling party used to hold sway over the municipal committees and everybody else was ignored. The party in power, he remarked, tries to monopolise authority, and others are debarred from a share in municipal power. This leads to discrimination. He said that a corporator had to serve the common man, and various problems relating to transport, water, electricity, road and other amenities needed to be resolved at the lowest level. In the case of a cabinet system, he said, power would be concentrated in a small group. He, however, agreed that the commissioner should not be given any powers; rather, power should be vested in the committees consisting of members of the corporation elected on the basis of proportional representation. He pointed out that committees under the present system of corporation government could only pass resolutions, but the executive authority was entrusted to the commissioner. In his opinion, if municipal government has to meet the civic needs of the people, committees should be formed on functional as well as zonal bases. The committees should be really powerful reflecting the constitution of the corporation, in which various shades of opinion are represented. These committees, he said, should deal with the civic problems and lay down policy decisions. After that, it will be the duty of the executive wing to faithfully implement the decisions. He remarked that if democracy was to be made a success, power must be delegated at the lowest level and local leadership should be fostered. The Chairman wanted to know from the speaker how the friction between the

executive side and the deliberative side could be reduced. The speaker replied that the committees would take the decisions and the executive would act upon those. After this, another corporator sought leave of the Chairman to express his views. Referring to the present system of government in the corporation, he said that under the present system the representatives of the people in the corporation merely passed the resolutions, but it was an appointed executive who had been running the administration. He also resented the control of the State Government over municipal affairs and desired that more funds should be given to the municipal bodies to save them from financial poverty. In his opinion, the cabinet form of government should be introduced at the municipal level.

At this stage, the Chairman intervened to say that two points of view had come out, one in favour of the cabinet system, and another against it. He expected that other participants would further elaborate these points of view. The next speaker spoke in favour of the cabinet system. He argued that even now it was the majority party that took the decisions. So, in his opinion, if the cabinet system is introduced there will not be much change in substance, but certain other benefits would also follow. Another participant rose to observe that municipal government was concerned with the provision of certain civic services and no major policy matters were involved. He felt that to make municipal government effective there must be a strong administrative structure. He submitted that there could be a very small body that would be able to deal with all the problems effectively. That body must have all the responsibility and authority. He referred to the concept of management board as suggested by the Maud Committee in England. The management board would consist of different shades of opinion in the council. In such a set-up, he said, the chairman would carry out the administration, and the management board would deal with the overall problem of devising policies and coordinating municipal administration.

The next speaker observed that before advocating the cabinet system we must be clear in our minds as to the objectives which the local bodies would fulfil in a democratic set-up. He said that municipal government provided an opportunity for local leadership to tackle local problems. Under a system of adult

franchise, nothing could be done without the consent of the people. He felt that municipal government was perhaps the most difficult to operate. Referring to the pattern of administration under the Maharashtra Municipalities Act, he said that the standing committee and the functional committees or sub-committees in Maharashtra provided the system of checks and counter-checks. The standing committee consists of all the chairmen of the sub-committees, and the president and the vice-president are *ex-officio* members of the committee. Thus, he pointed out, the standing committee is a kind of cabinet which coordinates the working of the municipal body. Hence he favoured this system in municipal government.

Another participant spoke of his experience as a member of the corporation. In his opinion the mayor should be like the speaker and there should be executive councillors each in charge of one or more departments. In this connection he drew the attention of the seminar to the Soviet system of local government. He felt that in the context of our progress towards socialism, local government machinery should be adjusted to the overall goal of the country. After this, the Chairman observed that some ideas had come out in course of the deliberations, and he expected that in the post-lunch session other participants would throw more light on the subject.

III. Afternoon Session (September 15, 1969)

The afternoon session opened with Shri C. B. Rao, Ex-Mayor of the Allahabad Municipal Corporation in the chair. The Chairman requested Prof. Chetakar Jha of the Patna College, Bihar, to present his paper on "Cabinet System in Municipal Government—A Viewpoint". Prof. Jha started by saying that for the last two years he had been hearing about this idea of cabinet form of government in municipal authorities, and he was frantically trying to find reasons to support the idea. In his opinion, the form of government is a product of political decisions, which in turn is determined by the content and nature of politics obtaining in a particular society at the time of decision-making. A lot of damage has been done to the subject of municipal government, he said, by those American writers who, in their bid to rescue municipal administration from corruption which obtained in the municipal authorities in the United

States, introduced this dichotomy between politics and administration. As a matter of fact, he continued, a municipal council should not be compared to a legislature either at the State level or at the national level. A municipal council could be profitably compared for the purposes of discussion with the council of ministers or cabinet. This is brought out very clearly when we look at the municipal laws, some of which are much longer than even the constitution of India, and they are longer because these lay down functions that can be undertaken by the municipal authorities and the manner in which these can be implemented are provided in a very detailed manner. Hence any general observation, he remarked, based on the distinction between the deliberative and the executive wings or separation of administration and politics should be taken with certain reservations.

We are certainly dissatisfied with the state of affairs at the local level as much as we are dissatisfied with the state of affairs at the State level, Prof. Jha observed. Perhaps the picture at the national level is a little bit happier. Now what is the root cause? Is it the form of government or is it the nature of politics? He approvingly quoted from a letter written to him by Mr. Naville Maxwell, the distinguished Correspondent of the Times, London : "The present system of government is not only unserviceable... (in that it does not produce government) but also actively toxic to the society... in that it exacerbates and accentuates the manifold divisions within it". Prof. Jha remarked that in the present situation we did get a government but not governance.

In the field of local self-government, he continued, the cabinet form had been introduced in village panchayats in Bihar in pursuance of the Bihar Panchayati Raj Act, 1947. It provided for the selection of the members of the Executive Committee of the panchayat by the Mukhiya (the chief of the panchayat) who was to be elected by the entire adult population which constituted the legislative organ of the panchayat. The system had to be modified after watching its pattern for nearly ten years. Even the existing system in which the Mukhiya selects four members, *i.e.*, half of the total number of the members of the executive committee is hardly satisfactory. In a manner of speaking we may say that people in Bihar have to choose either

the Mukhiya or the panchayat. They cannot have both. In the light of our experience of the working of the cabinet form of government in some States as well as in panchayats, said Prof. Jha, we may be justified in rejecting the proposals for introducing the cabinet form of government in municipal corporations and municipalities. The Indian community, he said, could be described as a power hungry community. People who have gone without enjoying powers for centuries have been given powers by law. They enter politics. They take interest in politics in a manner which psychologists would associate with power hungry people. The problem, he observed, is psychological and the treatment also should be on psychological line. An observer of the political scene today had a feeling that the desire to have a share in power was so strong in every person who would enter a political institution that any form of government which would not cater to these needs of members in a reasonable manner might not be workable. There is a need, said Prof. Jha, for a form of government that will make it possible for every member to have some share while at the same time creating conditions in which members will learn the lessons of working together in pursuit of the common goal of providing at least the minimum of municipal amenities required for clean and decent living.

Next, the Chairman requested Dr. Ali Ashraf of the Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, to present his paper on "The Case for a Strong Mayor". Dr. Ali Ashraf started by saying that undoubtedly our administrative problems had political, psychological and cultural implications. But, he said, we should examine and explore whether the existing local self-government system in this country was endowed with some of the criteria and requirements necessary for making urban government efficient and dynamic. It is almost universally accepted, he continued, that the local authorities have not been functioning well and they have failed to solve the mounting urban problems and to provide adequate civic services. The weight of public opinion finds the root cause of civic mal-administration in the corrupt practices of the elected representatives, their particularistic interests and parochial outlook. It is also alleged that the councillors are not content with policy-making and interfere with administration as a result of which

the officers cannot discharge their responsibilities with efficiency and impartiality. Almost all the official committees and commissions, set up from time to time to enquire into the working of local bodies, have concurred in their judgement that party politics have been the bane of local government.

Before we discuss these problems, observed Dr. Ashraf, it is necessary to examine more closely the allegations about political interference in local administration. First, it is very difficult to maintain in practice the distinction between policy-formulation and policy-implementation. Any knowledge of the legislative process or policy-making is enough to indicate that the directions of new policies emerge, at least in part, from the actual needs of administration and the administrator provides the basic raw material for policy-making. In this connection, Dr. Ashraf referred to the following observations by the Deputy Municipal Commissioner of the Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation :

“Though the Act (Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation Act) specifies that executive power vests in the Commissioner and policy-making is the sphere of the Municipal Corporation, yet both by practice and convention as well as the necessities of the situation, the Commissioner has to show a lot of initiative in respect of framing the policies also. The Corporation normally does not initiate any policy, especially in any matter which has a financial repercussion. The normal rule of the Corporation proceedings, when they want a new thing not emanating from the Commissioner to be done, is to request the Commissioner to consider the feasibility of doing that thing and it is only after the Commissioner reports on it that the Corporation takes a final decision. The Corporation being composed of laymen is not in a position to work out details of any policy. In the ultimate analysis it is the Commissioner that frames the policy and places before the Corporation sometimes alternatives and sometimes a single policy for the approval of the Corporation. The Commissioner is not a passive agent carrying out the dictates of the Corporation but is an authority who is actively associated with formulating the policy itself.”

Dr. Ashraf commented that this clearly explained the vital role of the executive in policy-making. In the second place, he argued, the fact of political interference in actual administration

may have substantial basis but it has to be understood in the right perspective. It is characteristic of Indian administration in general that people's demands, instead of being channelled through policy-decisions, are largely satisfied by the administration itself. Pressures on the bureaucracy and administration lead to interminable problems of adjusting sectional and particularistic demands to available resources. Also, when the bureaucrat would yield to such pressures, this is as much a reflection on the bureaucrats' helplessness, weakness, or political predilections as on the politicians' propensity to exert such pressure. In an institution based on popular participation, such pressures are bound to be exerted. This is especially so where political parties and other institutions are not strong enough properly and effectively to articulate the demands of the people. The remedy to this problem does not lie in bemoaning the fact of political interference but in making such interference necessary or at any rate least harmful.

This goal can be achieved, observed Dr. Ashraf, partly by strengthening, streamlining and rationalising municipal bureaucracy, which is notorious for serious defects in its organisation, methods of work and recruitment. Where municipal employees owe their jobs, promotion and other benefits to the patronage of municipal councillors, it is but natural that these employees should feel themselves obliged to do things at the bidding of individual councillors. It is true that a good deal of inter-personal relationship between the municipal staff and councillors is bound to persist and survive any formal reform. It is also true, however, that any attempt to reform the problem of political interference cannot succeed unless municipal officers and employees are recruited on the basis of their professional and technical competence, and unless municipal service is made meaningful and attractive in terms of their personal as well as professional fulfilment.

Having emphasized the paramount need for an efficient, capable and independent municipal bureaucracy, Dr. Ashraf turned his attention to some other vital aspects of municipal administration. Administrative capability, he explained, would mean the ability of a local authority to solve problems and respond effectively to the challenge thrown to it by new situation and demands. Such administrative capacity requires not merely

the technical knowledge or managerial ability to run a department but an awareness of long-term problems, an assessment of potential resources, taking up initiative and mobilising popular support in favour of development programmes. This function of assessing the requirements and setting the goals, observed Dr. Ashraf, involves a look beyond the present, projecting into the future and relating all these to what is wanted by the public. This, he pointed out, is essentially a political function. The goals and objectives and policy-decisions regarding development must be set firmly by the policy-makers. The help of technical experts and administrators must undoubtedly remain of inestimable value in examining the feasibility of these programmes, but the desirability of these goals, their priorities and their scope, must be determined by the representatives of the people.

Policy and administration, in Dr. Ashraf's view, are inevitably intertwined. It is necessary, therefore, that from the point of view of *development*, the policy-maker must have the *ultimate responsibility* for the execution of the policy decisions. And for both policy-making and policy formulation he must be accountable to the community. This ultimate accountability to the community, observed Dr. Ashraf, is not only a test of self-government but also a condition for development. The relevance of such accountability from the viewpoint of local self-government is self-evident. What may not be equally clear is its relevance as a requirement for development. Dr. Ashraf emphasised that accountability to the people was necessary to ensure consent and support more than the initiative of the people. The initiative, he said, must necessarily lie with the leaders who have both constitutional and political obligation to push through development. The officials may also contribute to the initiation of ideas and programmes as in fact they do and are bound to do because of their knowledge of the actual problems and also their direct involvement in administration. But such initiation, remarked Dr. Ashraf, must be endorsed by the elected policy-makers, without whose support it is difficult to provide the wherewithal for development programmes. The bureaucracy, he said, has the technical knowledge but it lacks identification with the people. This identification is an advantage of the political leaders, it is also a source of

political interference in administration. Wisdom lies in exploiting the advantage and minimizing the baneful effects of irresponsible political meddling. This, he believed, could be achieved if the ultimate executive as well as legislative responsibilities were placed on the shoulders of the political leaders. If they wanted to make a mess of the local government, let them face the music. After all, he said, they cannot escape the consequences of their action for all times. Under the present system, however, the executive blames the councillors for interference and the latter in their turn blame the executive for corruption and inefficiency. He remarked that it would be good for the health, not only of democracy but also of the officers, that the public leaders should be made to answer for their actions.

With these remarks, Dr. Ashraf turned to an examination of the existing system of local government especially in metropolitan cities. First, the system of municipal administration based on the duality of policy making and policy implementation besides being a fiction sedulously cultivated by the experts and bureaucrats, precludes the development of the kind of executive leadership that is a condition for development. Such a local government is indeed a headless administration lacking in a clear focus on administrative leadership. The councillors in the corporation indulge in useless talking, discuss irrelevant political problems and debate on specific grievances. A large body of councillors cannot be expected to engage in the kind of coherent, concentrated and continuous thinking required for making policy decisions.

The councillors in committees tend to be divided into various functional areas and cannot take an overall view of various problems. It is also a naive view of the character and calibre of councillors that they would all be interested in the major problems and their solution. Their vision, observed Dr. Ashraf, is confined to small problems of the neighbourhood and the ways and means of redressing specific grievances rather than the formulation of a wider general policy. The commissioner, by virtue of his statutory powers, is supposed to carry out the policies laid down by the councillors. Where he does take initiative for new proposals and programmes, he is seriously handicapped by the financial and administrative strait-jacket in which he has to operate. And it is well-nigh impossible

for a single official to keep his fingers on all aspects of municipal government. The mayor tends to be more a figurehead and a chairman than an actual executive head. The upshot of all this is, as Dr. Ashraf remarked, that the municipal government is a government of checks and conflicts rather than one with a dynamic leadership.

In the second place, he argued, the state of local politics is such that unity of will and coherence of policy are hard to emerge. It is impossible for well-organised political parties to throw up united and dynamic leadership so as to overcome the statutory lacuna in respect of drive and coherence in policy-making. A strong, cohesive and properly-oriented political party, Dr. Ashraf observed, could indeed overcome at least some of the defects of fragmented municipal government. The fact, however, is that political parties operating in most cities are numerous and divided. Where a political party is in a majority, it tends to be more a combination of factional groups than an integrated party. There are considerations of more particularistic nature—the neighbourhood, caste and kinship. The social notables and traditional leaders find it easier to dominate the local parties as well as local governments.

The particularistic and fragmented state of local politics, Dr. Ashraf said, makes it difficult to bring sound public interests to bear upon policy-making in the municipal government. It should also be remembered, he said, that there is no prospect in the foreseeable future for political parties and institutions that will work towards the social and political integration of our cities. Already the trend at the State level is towards further disintegration of political parties. The result of administrative fragmentation coupled with lack of social and political integration can be seen in the condition of municipal government and the urban life.

Thus, Dr. Ashraf drew attention to two things : (a) the need of a clear focus of responsibility and leadership in the municipal executive, and (b) the failure of political parties to fulfil this need. It is these two considerations that constitute the basic framework for the constitution of the right kind of municipal authority, he observed. The need for administrative leadership and the fact of political sterility in the present context of the city governments led him to emphasize the paramount

recommendation for a political executive. He remarked that a political executive would not in any way diminish the importance and role of an efficient municipal bureaucracy, but the bureaucracy must serve as an aid, and not a rival, to political leadership. The important role of the bureaucracy as adviser in policy making and execution of policy must remain unaffected, and must indeed be improved.

There are two conceivable ways, said Dr. Ashraf, in which a political executive can be provided—one is the cabinet form and the other is the presidential one. He then went on to examine briefly the merits and appropriateness of both these for the Indian cities. The cabinet form of government, he said, can ensure concentration of both legislative and executive leadership in the hands of councillors. The merits of this form of government can be found in any textbook and should be familiar to us in India. This form would ensure unity of governmental leadership, coordination of policy and administration and a clear locus of responsibility for whatever is done or not done by the municipal government. This form of municipal government would obviously require either the mayor to act as the chairman of the cabinet or provide another political head of the administration. The executive officer will be the head of the municipal establishment but responsible to the political chief, whether he is the mayor or someone else. The relation between the political chief and the executive head should be similar to that now obtaining between a minister and his departmental secretary.

The success of the cabinet form of municipal government, continued Dr. Ashraf, would however depend on stable and proper organisation and working of political parties. Instability in party organisation or multiplicity of parties would contribute to the instability and uncertainty of the political executive, thus putting into jeopardy the efficient working of the system. It is a matter of personal assessment whether the prevailing party situation in our towns and cities is such as to encourage hopes for stability in party system. Dr. Ashraf's own view was that prospects for stability and discipline in party organisations were far from bright. He feared that the recurring political crises in some states were likely to extend to party organisations at lower levels.

It, therefore, appears highly problematic, he said, that the cabinet system of municipal government will be able to function at all.

If the present system is defective and the cabinet system is difficult to operate in the political situation prevailing in this country, Dr. Ashraf observed, attention must be paid to an examination of a different alternative, viz., the adaptation of the presidential system to municipal government. The great advantage of this system, he said, is that it ensures executive stability through the institution of a strong mayor, directly elected by the electorate, and also unity of executive leadership. The strong mayor is not dependent for his office on the support of the majority in the corporation. It is true that he needs the majority support for his legislative and financial proposals. But a mayor in his position should find it not beyond his resources to secure such support. Thus, while the strong mayor should manage to harness the support of the councillors for his policy decisions, his office is not dependent on such support.

There is another point, he said, which went in favour of the strong mayor system. Such a mayor, elected by the entire electorate will necessarily have to identify himself with all sections of the population and ensure the support of the largest number of the people. Such a mayor is likely to be more representative of the public at large than the individual councillors. He is thus likely to feel responsible towards the entire community.

In the strong-mayor system, observed Dr. Ashraf, relations between the mayor and the permanent municipal employees would be of crucial importance. In the United States, it is customary for such a mayor to have full powers of all appointments to municipal administration. He said that this was not necessary in the Indian conditions, and the tradition of permanent municipal service should be retained.

He posed the question : why is it at all necessary to have a political executive when the political leadership in this country does not inspire hopes of constructive leadership and does not justify the confidence placed in such leadership. The answer to this question, he said, has been partly given while emphasizing the need and importance of (political) executive leadership in the municipal government. There is another more blunt answer. The dangers and deficiencies inherent in

irresponsible and unstable political leadership are not difficult to define. However, if the fate of the State, and indeed of the whole national governments can be risked by entrusting them to the hands of political leaders, what is so great about local government, that such a risk cannot be taken on a relatively smaller scale. The country, Dr. Ashraf remarked, is after all engaged in an experiment in self-government, and this experiment is nothing but an act of faith. An experiment in full-blooded democratic development involves less risk at the local level than at the national level. If the latter is allowed, there is no reason why local self-government should be curtailed. Dr. Ashraf concluded his discussion by recalling Lord Ripon's famous Resolution on local government. The system of local self-government was primarily meant for popular and political education, but in course of time as increasing popular interest and experience would be brought to bear upon local administration, improved efficiency was bound to follow.

After these papers had been presented, the Chairman invited comments from the participants. One of the participants spoke about the conventions evolved in the Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation. There is a Leader of the House who is also the leader of the ruling party. Although the Leader of the House does not enjoy any statutory powers, by convention he leads the party-in-power in the Corporation. Generally, the Leader of the House does not initiate any policy before he has some preliminary discussions with the Municipal Commissioner. He may also take the Leader of the Opposition into confidence. This post of the Leader of the Opposition has also grown by convention. Even in regard to day-to-day working, the Leader of the House takes decisions as to who will be nominated from the ruling party to various committees, who will become the chairman of a particular committee, etc. On many an occasion, the Mayor calls both the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition and also other group leaders for discussion in order that a common approach to a particular problem could be evolved. The speaker pointed out that these practices could be likened to the working of a cabinet system of government. He observed that the problems faced by the big cities like Madras, Calcutta or Bombay were very vast and they were more than local in nature. For the effective functioning of the democratic machinery the

majority party has also to take the opposition party in confidence. Politicians, he admitted, are power hungry people, but they are also responsible people. Regarding the present status of the municipal commissioner, he remarked that the commissioner system had been a legacy of history and it was established to serve the needs of the colonial power. He felt that under the present political context the commissioner system should go and there should be a cabinet or a mayor-in-council consisting of a small number of persons who would apply their minds to various civic problems and take decisions on day-to-day matters. He observed that in a cabinet form of government responsibility and accountability would go together. In this connection, he referred to the conventions that had grown up in the administration of the Greater London Council where some sort of a cabinet system had in fact been evolved. He also observed that the members of a local body in a city like Greater Bombay had to devote considerable amount of their time to municipal work. If the members of a municipal cabinet were to be involved effectively in municipal administration they might have to be paid salaries and they must be full-time members. Regarding the operation of the party system, he observed that it was not possible to avoid the involvement of political parties in municipal government. In his opinion, party system does not always lead to chaos. Referring to the situation in the Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation, he pointed out that 95 per cent of the Corporation resolutions would be passed unanimously. He also felt that even in a cabinet system of government it might be possible to make use of the committees.

The next speaker posed the question whether the present system of administration was working all right or not. He observed that actually the present system was defective and some other alternative system needed to be devised. Because of splintering of powers among a number of authorities in the corporation Act, he said, there were discordant administration and conflict between the deliberative and the executive wings. The elected representatives are mainly concerned with deliberations, whereas the entire executive authority is vested in the commissioner. He pointed out that performances of the elected representatives would be judged by the people on the basis of how effectively they could deliver the goods. The defects

in municipal legislation meant nothing to the people at large. And ultimately it was the elected councillors who would be blamed for the failings of the administration. To remove the present anomalies and resolve the unending conflicts in corporation administration, he was of the opinion that the cabinet system should be introduced in municipal administration. He agreed, however, that some minor changes would be necessary. In spite of the party system, he remarked, the opposition parties do find scope for taking part in decision-making. In this connection, he referred to the Chairmen of the Delhi Transport Undertaking and the Delhi Water Supply and Sewerage Undertaking who belonged to the opposition party. Similarly, he said, the opposition parties play an effective role in the zonal committees. If the ruling party and the opposition party were in agreement about the main goals of administration, which is service to the people, he felt that there would be no difficulty in forging a working unity between the ruling group in the corporation and the opposition party. He concluded by maintaining that he lent full support to the cabinet system of municipal government.

Another participant spoke in support of the cabinet system in municipal government. He observed that generally the opponents of the cabinet system would point out that the cabinet system would be too expensive, there was the danger of the opposition parties being ignored and that the efficiency and administration would suffer. But in reply, he said that none of these dangers really existed. He remarked that the resources of the municipal corporations could be augmented if the State Government would allow these bodies to share some of the lucrative taxes such as the entertainment tax. He thought that the interests of the opposition parties or minority groups could be protected by making suitable provisions in the Act. Regarding municipal administrative efficiency, he observed that the experience of the Varanasi Municipal Corporation was that both efficiency and revenue of the Corporation went down under the Administrator's control and both showed an improvement when the elected representatives had taken over.

The next speaker said that he was inclined to support the cabinet system. But he wanted to be cautious. Another participant drew attention to State control over municipal administration which, he thought, cut at the very root of local

democracy. He observed that unless power was given to the elected bodies, these would never be able to attract talented councillors. At the present moment, he remarked, the elected councillors have little power and almost no authority. Thus, the councillor is usually a frustrated person. In his opinion genuine powers should be devolved on the local bodies. These should be allowed to function without State interference. He deplored the present tendency to vest authority in the appointed executive officer and observed that the inevitable result was a continuous conflict between the executive officer and the elected councillors. He supported the idea of cabinet system of municipal government, but he felt that the opposition should also be accommodated in this system. He maintained that if the opposition parties would have a share in municipal power and decision-making, they would not block the process of administration. He said that their participation could be ensured by statutory provisions rather than by convention. One participant remarked that there was some confusion about the use of the word 'cabinet'. The cabinet system of government, he observed, is characterised by political homogeneity and concentration of authority. Hence, there was no question of sharing power with the minority. Commenting on the problem of accommodating the opposition parties in the cabinet system of government, one participant observed that it would be possible to set up two statutory committees—the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee—which would consist of members elected on the basis of proportional representation. This would ensure effective participation of the opposition parties in municipal decision-making.

Winding up the day's session, the Chairman observed that there was no getting away from the political parties at the municipal level. Hence, he felt that the cabinet system would have a political complexion. On the question of opposition parties being ignored, he maintained that at the local level it was difficult to ignore the demands of the opposition members, since the latter had strong local ties. Whatever be the political party in power in a corporation, it would ignore the opposition parties only at its peril.

Prof. Jagannadham thanked the Chairman for the able and smooth conduct of the proceedings. He also thanked

all the participants for making the deliberations fruitful and hope that more thoughts would come up during the next day's discussions.

III. Morning Session (September 16, 1969)

With Shri Shanti G. Patel of the Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation in the chair, the proceedings of the day commenced. Prof. G. Mukharji clarified at the outset that the title of the seminar subject might have created an impression that the participants would be expected to give their views only on the cabinet system of municipal government; but he pointed out that there was no such restriction and the participants were free to express their views on alternative forms of government. In the course of discussion, Prof. Mukharji added, we could build a volume of opinion about the kind of local government that would be needed. The Chairman referred to Prof. Mukharji's initial clarification and explained that there was wide scope for free discussion. He expected that the participants would come forward with many other ideas on the reform of municipal government in India. The Chairman next requested Prof. R.B. Das of the University of Lucknow to present his paper on "Cabinet System in Municipal Administration". Prof. Das started by saying that the subject of the seminar was very vital for both democracy and local self-government. The management of local government as distinct from the reorganisation of local authorities, he continued, is today presenting many complex problems all over the world. The factors leading to this situation are commonly known. Important among these are rapid urbanisation, rising standards of living and conscious citizens. The existing municipal services are proving inadequate. The resources of the local authorities are too meagre to meet these growing requirements. The structure of municipal government is also not appropriate enough to cope with the new problems. There is a general feeling that the system is wanting in leadership which is so necessary for speed and efficiency. This is perhaps the reason why everywhere, in advanced as well as underdeveloped or developing countries, attention is now being given to strengthen the municipal administration. In the United States experiments were made from time to time which resulted in various forms of municipal government, conceding

a definite place to the political executive supported by expert knowledge made available through one of the principal officers. Nevertheless, observed Prof. Das, some kind of separation between the council and a professional chief executive has also been considered. In the United Kingdom, the Maud Committee reported on the "Management of Local Government". In India, the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee has dealt with the issues and suggested some radical reforms in municipal administration. The main issue is whether the municipal system as it exists today, can survive the challenge of technological, social and economic developments and whether a new orientation has to be given to the relationship between the deliberative and the executive wings. There is sufficient divergence of opinion on the issue. There are those who stand for the strengthening of the political executive. Also, there is a feeling that executive administration should be made more efficient and swift-moving. It is under these circumstances that the idea of a cabinet system is being mooted. It would, therefore, be in the fitness of things that this issue is fully examined so that one may understand the implication of the introduction of this form.

Dwelling on the historical evolution of local self-government, Prof. Das said that municipal administration in India developed as a result of the exigencies and requirements of the British rule. Originally municipal committees were established to share some of the Exchequer expenses and were under the complete control of the officials. Lord Ripon's Resolution of 1882 introduced the elected element to replace the nominated members, and the control of district officials was also relaxed to some extent. The Resolution of 1918 was implemented to further democratise the municipal government. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 gave a large measure of autonomy to the Provincial Legislatures and the responsibility for local government was placed in the hands of a popular minister. Official domination was, thus, eliminated. After the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, the executive authority in municipal boards was vested in the elected chairman, who was assisted by a whole-time officer, *viz.*, the executive officer. The pattern thus evolved exists even today as far as municipal boards are concerned.

The situation in the Presidency towns, however, digressed a little even earlier. The Bombay Municipal Corporation Act, 1888, made provision for the direct election of half of the members. It also provided for a municipal commissioner and the 'Standing Committee' of the Council to undertake the major portion of the work of the Council. The Bombay pattern became the model for other corporations constituted later in the country, particularly after Independence.

Thus, on the one hand, observed Prof. Das, there is a greater desire on the part of the elected representative to be of some consequence in the management of local services and on the other there is a keenness on the part of officers to maintain a certain level of efficiency and freedom from the popular wing for the discharge of their normal duties. The councillors desire a full share of responsibility both in the field of policy-making and in the administrative control over the execution of policies. However, there are others, who while granting due share of the responsibility for policy-making to the popular wing, are not in favour of entrusting the execution entirely to it. They favour an independent executive to avoid the baneful effects of politics in the administrative sphere. They, therefore, see no harm in the current relationship between the deliberative and the executive wings. The cabinet system postulates a certain kind of relationship between the political and the appointed executives.

One has, therefore, to examine the basic features of the cabinet government and their applicability to municipal administration. The idea of the cabinet government, in fact, is basically not opposed to a system of committees, which is an essential characteristic of municipal government currently in vogue.

Major considerations in favour of the committee system are, continued Prof. Das, to maintain the hold of the deliberative body over the entire administrative apparatus. One might mention here that in England the committee system came into being to supplement the working of the council. Committees emerged as specialised agencies for detailed deliberations on different sets of problems, and they came to occupy an important position in due course. These also took advantage of the services of permanent staff both in regard to the formulation of policies and their execution. For coordination purposes,

in certain towns general purpose committees were also created. The committee system had, over a period of time, acquired a prominent position in municipal administration. Simultaneously, it developed certain shortcomings, particularly in respect of the execution of policies where individual members tended to take part in actual administration. The Maud Committee got the clue from the working of the general purposes committee when it advocated the idea of a management board for municipal government. On the line of the general purposes committee, the board of management exists in the Scandinavian countries and Germany and works as a collegiate executive, earmarking spheres of activities for different members. Unfortunately this coordinating committee has been mistaken for a cabinet system which is not its exact parallel.

The difference between committee system and cabinet system is that the latter does not allow the great majority of members to take part in the administration and the executive power is vested in a few hands. The municipal administration functions by associating elected representatives with the municipal government. They are by far the most important element of it. In this connection, Prof. Das quoted from Sir Andrew Wheatley's dissenting note to the Maud Committee Report : "The analogy with the Central Government is a false one, because it would be impossible to associate all the individual members of Parliament with decision making, as has become the practice in local government."

There are some factors which, Prof. Das observed, do not favour the introduction of the cabinet system in municipal administration. The size of the municipal council is the greatest handicap. There are various classes of municipal boards; even there are boards with only 10 members. Again, there are corporations with larger councils. As the members are elected on partisan basis and as there are many political parties, the strength of the members forming the majority group is likely to be very small and quite incapable of forming a cabinet. There will be no uniformity if the system is introduced at some places and a majority of the local authorities are left out.

The existing system of municipal administration, remarked Prof. Das, has developed certain traditions and has not proved an utter failure so as to force a complete change in the structure.

The system has been existing in India for more than a century and a half and has been reformed from time to time to suit changing conditions. While introducing reforms in municipal administration efforts were made to stimulate it and revitalise it.

The current thinking, Prof. Das observed, favours a separation of the executive and the deliberative functions. The municipal corporations are organised on these lines. In England also, the Maud Committee on 'Management of Local Government' has recently advocated the idea of a management board.

In the municipal boards, executive power is vested in the president, a political executive. He functions with the aid of a wholetime executive officer and a number of functional committees. These committees provide an opportunity to all members to participate in the administration by serving on one or the other. This, Prof. Das said, creates a sense of responsibility among them which is vital for municipal administration. It discourages irresponsible behaviour. The existence of an executive committee fulfils the need of coordination and at times it can take independent action relieving the council of minor matters.

The members in municipal institutions as they come more in direct contact with their constituents have a greater regard for their problems and difficulties irrespective of party consideration. They have always an eye on building up their political image and career. Every member is a *prima donna* dependent on himself to maintain his popularity. He must keep his name before the electors by many devices.

The area served by municipal institutions is limited and the nature of the civic services is such, Prof. Das said, that they cannot be used to serve the interest of a particular party or a particular area except in the matter of distributing charities and benefits. These services govern the daily lives of citizens. These do not concern large issues such as location of industry or allocation of funds on the basis of political composition.

The introduction of cabinet system in municipal administration, Prof. Das remarked, would create many operational problems concerning the degree of local autonomy, extent of financial resources and internal administration. This will in particular require modification of the relationship between the

mayor in the municipal corporations and the commissioner and at lower levels between the chairman and the executive officer and other heads of departments who in many cases are drawn from the State cadres. The cost of maintaining the cabinet whose ministers will be whole-time servants may also be too high for most of the local authorities. The municipal institutions will become another arena for political battles which have become a common scene in the Legislatures. Every question relating to civic services will acquire a political colour and ultimately the city and the citizens will be the victims of these feuds.

The cabinet system in municipal administration, Prof. Das continued, would mean the placing of executive responsibility of a department or a group of departments in the hands of "municipal ministers". In this connection, he referred to the similar arrangement made in the U.S.A. through the 'commission' form of government, which, he said, did not succeed. The ministers may tend to treat the departments as their domain. A close working relationship between the chief executive and other officers may be hampered, as the departmental heads will become subordinate to the political executive holding charge of the departments. This arrangement was also discussed by the Maud Committee in England and they have not favoured it. The other disadvantages pointed out by them are as follows :

- (i) This would reduce the discretion and responsibility of the principal officer.
- (ii) It would substitute the fragmentation of 'ministerial responsibility' for the dispersal of responsibility among committees.
- (iii) From the organisational point of view, it may not be possible to reconcile the supervisory and coordinative role of the principal officer with the primary allegiance of departmental heads to individual members of the cabinet.

These are some of the issues and questions which, as Prof. Das argued, have to be seriously considered. Along with it, he said, weightage has also to be given to the current thinking on the question of reforms in municipal management. There is a substantial section of population that advocates the non-partisan character of municipal institutions which goes against the idea

of a cabinet system.

The experience of the cabinet system at the national and State levels, said Prof. Das in his concluding remarks, has not been healthy and many people would like to give a second thought to the parliamentary system.

The Chairman next requested Shri R. S. Gupta of the Centre for Training and Research in Municipal Administration to present his paper on "Patterns of Municipal Structure". Shri Gupta said that he would not be expressing his views in regard to the cabinet system in a narrow sense. He observed that executive responsibility in local government differed from country to country. The strong mayor-system, he said, comes close to the Presidential System in the United States of America. He referred to the council manager form of government in the United States under which the council, after the selection of the manager, would give the latter almost a free hand in managing local administration. He also discussed at length the organisation of the management board in vogue in many of the European countries. In the Netherlands, where generally three or four political parties are represented on the council, the board members are elected by the council; but the convention is to allocate places on the board approximately in proportion to the seats held by different parties in the council. In Sweden, on the contrary, the practice is for the majority party to nominate all the members on the board. Thus, the Swedish board is politically homogeneous. In Sweden, the board chairman is appointed by the council from among the board members, whereas in the Netherlands, the Burgomaster (mayor) presides over the meetings of the board as well as the council. The Swedish mayor only presides over the meetings of the council and acts as the city's ceremonial head, and it is the chairman of the board who is considered the most powerful person in the local authority. Further, in the Netherlands though each member of the board has responsibility for a segment of the municipality's activities, yet the members cannot be considered as ministers as they are drawn from different political parties represented in the council.

Shri Gupta next turned to the English system of local government. In England, he pointed out, the members of the council as a whole are involved in the process of decision-making. It is the committees of the council which exercise important

powers within their areas, as each major function or a group of functions is the responsibility of a committee.

Concentrating on municipal government in India, Shri Gupta observed that the executive in the urban local bodies in India was the product of a century old evolution. In the early days of British rule, the all-powerful collector of the district used to be the chairman of the local body and, in him were vested all the executive powers. He had at his disposal the entire official machinery of the district which included district engineer, district medical officer of health and inspector of schools. The question of relations between the executive and the deliberative wings did not arise as most of the members of the council were nominated by him. However, the question of executive powers became significant after the First World War when the collector was replaced by an elected chairman in the process of democratisation. Thus, the chairman in the municipalities continued to exercise the executive powers although, subsequently, various municipal Acts were modified and the position of a chief executive officer was created, who could assist the chairman in the exercise of his executive functions. Shri Gupta next mentioned about the separation of the executive and deliberative powers in corporation government. He pointed out that the trend in the municipal Acts to create a number of statutory authorities was not a healthy one. The fragmentation of executive authority, he said, is largely responsible for the mismanagement of municipal administration in India. He suggested that for smooth functioning of the municipal government it is necessary that executive responsibility should be concentrated either in an individual or in a collegiate body, to be called either a cabinet or a management board.

Perhaps under the present conditions in India, he thought, it would be better to follow the council-manager plan with some modifications under which the council would chalk out the policies and the trained manager would implement them.

After Shri R. S. Gupta had presented his point of view, the chairman requested Prof. Ziauddin Khan of the Rajasthan University, Jaipur, to read his paper on "The Cabinet System in Municipal Government". Prof. Khan said that local Government in India was influenced by the British system. In the reassessment of the working of local government, many difficulties

and weaknesses have been pointed out. Prof. Khan quoted at length from the Maud Committee Report on "Management of Local Government", where the Report had diagnosed the main defects of the English system and suggested institutional changes such as the formation of a management board and the abolition of committees as decision-making bodies. He also referred to Prof. D. N. Chester's criticism of the Maud Committee Report.

Prof. Khan expressed doubts about the adoption of cabinet system in municipal administration, and he posed the question : have we really succeeded in the working of parliamentary type of executive at the Central and State levels ?

Speaking of the Cabinet system at higher levels of government, Prof. Khan observed that the transplantation of parliamentary institution from the British to the Indian soil required a careful nursing. It was ignored, he said, that this type of executive required not merely a solid party majority support inside, but also minority support and cooperation and change in the people's attitude towards democracy. This type of executive, he continued, also requires sharpening of people's opinion on political issues and as few political parties as possible each ready to form alternative government. Parliamentary executive requires important conventions to be developed. Conventions are delicate things and they need to be nourished and nurtured in the course of repeated practices. And they develop their own sanctions. We, in India, are not yet sure about the value of these conventions; we have not developed the common set of conventions. We must know that most of the troubles in State politics can be traced to our ill-digested notions about the parliamentary executive. If things are vague and confused at the State level, it would not be wise, observed Prof. Khan, to extend the same confusion to the cities.

First of all, he said, we must be very clear about the objectives of local government. During the heyday of Panchayati Raj, it was often declared that the pramukhs and pradhans were the diminutive chief ministers at the district and panchayat samiti levels. As a result, we have seen the drama of unhappy relationship between the official and non-official elements. The narrower the area of authority, he remarked, the more clear should be the conception of power free from political bias and directed more towards satisfying the people's needs irrespective

of political ideologies.

If local government is the best school of democracy, Prof. Khan continued, the education we need is the education in close collaboration between officials and non-officials, amateurs and specialists. Success of democracy depends upon close interaction between officials and non-officials at the local level. The leaders emerging through these schools of democracy will bear the marks of realism, sobriety, general outlook, subordination of smaller interests to larger causes. These leaders, trained at an early stage of their contact with the people, will be in a better position to conduct the affairs at higher levels.

In Prof. Khan's opinion, the introduction of cabinet system in municipal government may not be desirable for a number of reasons. In the first place, it may be difficult to find a nominal chief executive like the President or the Governor at the district and city levels. In the second place, cabinet government being a party government, the opposition will be excluded from it. This will not be healthy at the local government level. In the third place, the cabinet system revolves round the prime minister whose pre-eminence over other ministers is more due to conventions and tradition than formal provisions of law. Again, the relationship between the prime minister and the permanent executive is a delicate one based largely on conventions. In view of the failure of cabinet system at the Central and State levels, it would be unwise to introduce the same system in municipal government where it has to be started *de novo* without the benefit of any tradition or conventions.

The Chairman next invited Shri B.D. Raheja of the Centre for Training and Research in Municipal Administration to speak on his paper entitled "Cabinet System or New Strategy in Municipal Government". Shri Raheja said that due to rapid urban growth, the cities and towns were confronted with innumerable difficulties. There was a time, he said, when decision in local government could be taken by a handful of elected representatives, but circumstances were changing fast. He felt that the advocates of the cabinet system thought that local government should be made more efficient to discharge the responsibilities and there should also be collective responsibility to the people for efficient performance of the administrative tasks. In this connection, he referred to the recommendations

of the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee of the Government of India which reported in 1966. He hoped that for some time to come, the recommendations of this Committee would influence future decision on local government reorganisation. Another point emphasized by him was that it would be instructive to examine the local power structure before any reforms could be pushed through. He mentioned about several pressure groups such as labour unions, chambers of commerce and other welfare organisations, which, in addition to political parties, exerted pressure on the local councils. He was of the opinion that these pressure groups should not be ignored in any discussion on the reorganisation of local government administration. He drew attention to the complex administrative problems of bigger cities where, he remarked, the chief executive could be compared to any of the executive heads in the private corporations. He said that if modern techniques of administration were to be applied to municipal administration, the chief executive should be given a free hand to run the administration. He pleaded for the introduction of a scientific outlook into municipal administration. The cabinet system, he observed, was not to be found in operation in any part of the world at the municipal level. His main point was to invigorate local democracy by instilling a modern outlook and introducing the advanced techniques of management for which, he felt, the executive needed to be strengthened.

After all these papers were presented, the Chairman reminded the participants about the wide scope of the subject and requested the speakers to throw any new ideas that might occur to them. One participant remarked that a basic point needed to be clarified before arriving at any consensus on the desirable structure of municipal government. He posed the question whether statutory powers for running the administration would vest in the appointed administrators or in the elected representatives. He felt that if the decision was to strengthen the hands of the administrator by endowing him with more statutory powers, then there was no point in discussing the introduction of cabinet system in municipal government. On the contrary, if one would favour the concentration of powers in the hands of elected representatives, then the subject of the seminar could be meaningfully discussed. Another participant

referred to the various ideas thrown by different speakers in course of the deliberations. He agreed that there should be a consensus on where powers should lie. He pointed out that cities and towns used to clamour for the status of municipal corporations in the hope that this would enable them to have more powers; but when a corporation would actually come into being, there would be frustration among the councillors because of distribution of powers among a number of authorities. Even municipal boards would then appear to be in a much better position, as no State-appointed municipal commissioner would be there in charge of executive administration. He referred to the Mayor-in-Council plan proposed for the Delhi Municipal Corporation, and requested the participants to consider what powers were actually exercised by the commissioner and the elected representatives in a municipal corporation. He said that the powers of the commissioner mostly related to demolition, sanctioning of plans, collection of taxes and day-to-day administration. But, when it came to the question of budget and taxation, the corporation councillors and the standing committee members would draw up a list of works which would be sanctioned and incorporated in the budget. It is only within the provisions of the budget that the sanctioning authorities can approve any work. So the speaker said that there was hardly any scope for the commissioner to depart from what the councillors would decide. He remarked that the main question before the seminar was, therefore, to consider whether the powers of the commissioner should remain with him in the cabinet system of government or these should be delegated to him by the council. Afterall, he observed, the mayor-in-council would not be able to deal with the day-to-day problems of administration and for these, certain powers must be delegated to the appointed chief executive. He felt that the problem of evolving a sound municipal structure should be discussed in the context of expeditious and effective municipal administration which would deliver the goods to the satisfaction of the public.

The next participant remarked that our municipal government was suffering from the defects of stunted growth. Referring to the municipal commissioner form of government, he said, when we look at the history of Bombay Municipal Corporation,

we find that the civil servant was the head of the municipal corporation to start with. It was in the process of democratisation that the committee system had emerged. He observed that the structure of municipal administration had got stuck up there. Commenting on the conflict of authority in corporation administration, he deplored the vesting of statutory powers in the commissioner. He felt that the commissioner, because of these statutory powers, considered him as somewhat independent of the council. In psychological terms, the commissioner and the council would thus stand apart. In his opinion, there are several factors such as the attitude of the people and the politicians towards civil servants, the psychology of the permanent bureaucracy to segregate itself from the people, historical legacies—all these continued to affect the minds of the different actors in municipal administration. He observed that due to historical reasons the process of growth of our municipal government could not be continuous. There had been stops and breaks. Initially the civil servant was all-powerful in the municipal corporation; next, the committees had come into being and some powers were vested in them. He felt that this onward journey towards democratisation which suffered a set-back, needed to be normalised. He referred to the committee system which was not allowed to develop in the way it was intended to grow, by interposing certain principles and ideas alien to the basic structure which was adopted. Referring to the management board concept embodied in the Maud Committee Report he said that there was some misunderstanding about the whole spirit of the recommendations of the Committee. Some sort of a central committee, he observed, was already there in the larger local authorities in Britain. The recommendation of the Maud Committee was to universalise it. He drew attention to the demands of science and technology in modern times and he felt that to continue to argue in terms of clear-cut vesting of powers by statutory prescriptions went against the spirit of science and technology. In his opinion, the committee system should be allowed to have its natural growth, and the gradual transfer of authority from the civil servant to the committees should be permitted to take place. In reality, he said, there would be considerable increase in the powers of the civil servants in any organisation, because administration could not do without them.

The main point was therefore, he observed, whether meagre amount of power should be given to the civil servants statutorily, or they should wield substantial authority through a system of delegation of powers which would certainly be based on mutual understanding and confidence.

One participant remarked that the previous speaker did not come forward with any concrete proposals, apart from mere criticism of the cabinet system as well as the committee system. In reply to this, the previous speaker said that the concrete proposal was there. He made it clear that he was wanting the committee system to have a natural growth. The civil servant, he observed, would remain powerful in municipal administration, but his powers were not to be incorporated in the formal constitution of municipal government.

The Chairman pointed out that the seminar should discuss the possibility of introducing *any* system of municipal government and we were not to concentrate merely on the cabinet system. He remarked that in evolving any system of municipal government, one should take into consideration existing conditions in the country, history and tradition, the size of the problems that were to be tackled and the different types of towns and cities—big and small, which might not facilitate the adoption of a uniform system for all the urban areas. He also raised the problem of relationship between the executive and the deliberative wings, and wondered whether there should be only one authority in the form of an executive officer or a commissioner taking over all the executive responsibilities, or whether there should be a small body of persons combining both executive and deliberative powers and functions. He also referred to the strong mayor idea and observed that the implications of all these different systems of municipal government should be clearly spelt out.

One participant said that, from his long experience as a corporator in one of the large corporations in the country, he found that the people looked to the elected councillors for getting their problems solved. To the popular mind, he said, it was the councillor who was responsible for delivering the goods. He felt that the existing corporation Act was outdated and there was need for a change. In his opinion, the system of party whip in the corporation should be abolished, as due to

party interests, corporation work suffered. He remarked that a conscientious corporator had to work hard for his constituents. To enable them to devote full time to their job as councillors, he felt that they should be paid some salary. Referring to the executive authority vested in the commissioner, he remarked that the councillors found it difficult to get the assistance of the administration. Only when the commissioner would ask his junior officers to attend to a councillor, they would come forward to help him. He suggested a coordination committee consisting of the Government representatives and the councillors to consider changes in the municipal Act and maintain a harmonious relationship between the Government and the municipal authority. One participant interposed that the previous speaker did not clarify whether he sought to arm the commissioner with more powers or vest powers in the hands of the elected representatives. The Chairman clarified that the previous speaker made it quite clear that the corporation Act should be amended and powers should be given to the elected representatives. The next speaker, a corporator, mentioned about the three authorities in corporation government, namely, the council or the corporation, the various statutory committees, and the commissioner. He said that the common experience was that even if the democratically elected municipal councillor would suggest progressive reforms and important development measures, the executive wing represented by the commissioner was powerful enough to set aside the projected reforms. Thus, he remarked, the divergence of opinion between the elected corporation and the appointed commissioner led to a stalemate in corporation administration and the experience was frustrating for the elected city fathers. At the moment, he observed, the council meetings hardly contributed anything to civic administration. There would be interminable discussions, but the councillors knew that they did not have the real power to run the administration. The mayor was equally powerless. At best, the speaker continued, the mayor served as a post office in dealing with the correspondence between the corporation and the Government. He supported the introduction of the cabinet system of municipal government to remedy the present situation. He, however, cautioned that because of the role of political parties, the municipal cabinet would naturally be grabbed by the majority party. In such an

event, he said, the minority or the opposition groups would fail to take an effective part in municipal government and they might even feel frustrated. He, therefore, suggested the adoption of the method of proportional representation, and explained that the cabinet system of his conception would, because of proportional representation, accommodate all the important political elements in corporation government and it might in fact look like a coalition government. He was confident that only thus could a system of government instil confidence in the electorate. Referring to the City Soviets in the U.S.S.R., he remarked that the 'deputies' in the City Soviets were in charge of various municipal departments and together they worked like a council of ministers. He desired that, as the entire country was moving towards socialism, local government should accordingly be adjusted to the progress achieved at the higher levels of government.

At this stage, the Chairman observed that the seminar should also discuss the precise role of committee system and wondered if, under a cabinet system of municipal government, committees would still be useful.

The next participant remarked that some of the speakers in the seminar had been very critical of the cabinet system of municipal government. He felt that corporations and municipalities were in fact moving towards what might be called the cabinet system. In this connection, he referred to the role of the standing or executive committee in some States and he said that there was a distinct tendency to allow one of the committees to assume the role of a policy committee. To disarm the critics who thought that the cabinet system of government would be very sophisticated and spell dangers, he observed that the cabinet system was quite well-known, as it had been in operation at the higher levels of government for quite some time. He remarked that a cabinet was nothing but a sort of steering committee answerable to the parent body, the corporation or the whole council. In his opinion, there was scope for the use of a number of committees even in a cabinet system of government, but all other committees would be advisory, and not executive, in nature. Some of the speakers had earlier mentioned about the failure of the cabinet system at the State level. Referring to this point, he said that there was hardly any reason for

pessimism and he was confident that the system of government at the local level would sooner or later follow the same model that was in use at the higher levels of government.

The next speaker mentioned about the separation of powers between the elected wing and the executive wing and felt that the concentration of all executive authority in the hands of the chief executive officer had led to the impotence of the deliberative wing. Separation of powers, he observed, was detrimental to effective municipal government, as the two wings could not work in harmony. He said that, as representatives of the people, the councillors were responsible for civic welfare. In support of the cabinet system, he said that under this type of municipal government there would be an effective coordination and close association between the policy making and the policy executing wings in municipal administration.

Another speaker remarked that the authorities under the corporation Act had to function within the ambit of law. The commissioner, he said, could not be a dictator as he must work in accordance with the law. He pointed out that there were other authorities such as the standing committee that exercised important powers and the standing committee acted as a check on the commissioner. He observed that the corporation's function was to lay down policies and the statute had given this power to the corporation. The standing committee and the corporation were the supreme authorities and the commissioner, he said, enjoyed only limited powers. So, he was of the opinion that in suggesting changes the existing organisation and distribution of powers should be kept in mind.

The next participant made it clear that the point at issue was whether cabinet form of government should be introduced at the municipal level. He thought that municipal government could hardly be equated with the other levels of government. Hence, different solutions would have to be found out to meet the situation at the local level. One particular solution, he felt, might not hold good for the different types of local bodies. There was need for dynamic leadership in local government and he agreed that an appointed officer such as the municipal commissioner or the executive officer was not able to live up to the requirements of the local situations. The appointed executive was unable to carry the people with him,

nor could he lead the people, tap resources and mobilise support for the urban development projects. Therefore, the speaker felt that it was necessary that more power should be given to the elected people. He said that the moot point was : what was the best way of entrusting governmental responsibility to the elected councillors ? Agreeing with an earlier speaker, he observed that responsibility and authority must go hand in hand together in local government. He was of the opinion that the elected wing should combine in itself both authority and responsibility. He then went on to say that the cabinet system of government had the danger of bringing party politics into municipal government; but he felt that party interests should not be allowed to gain the upper hand in municipal administration. Referring to the vagaries of the cabinet system, he said that in the absence of a party with a clear majority, there would be difficulty in organising the cabinet at the local level. In this connection, he drew attention to the trend of contemporary State politics. Because of changing political loyalties, he said, there was instability at the State level. He cautioned the seminar that similar situations might arise at the local level if the party system was allowed to take hold of the governmental system at the municipal level. He remarked that in evolving a system of government we should not underrate the importance of a reasonably clean administration. Experiments in the presidential system of government at the municipal level, he said, had failed. The committee system, he observed, was no doubt highly democratic in principle, but it led to delays and was too cumbersome to solve the growing urban problems. In view of rapid urbanisation and its attendant problems, the speaker felt that there was need for competence and expertise at the local level to solve the civic problems efficiently and effectively. He said that the busy politicians could not be expected to provide the expertise. In his opinion, a system of municipal government should be evolved under which there would be a political executive, such as the mayor, who would be able to engage a person—an expert—to efficiently deliver the goods for him and run the administration. He remarked that the system he had in mind was much similar to the presidential system of government. Commenting on the cabinet system, he said that it was not going to work at the local level as it would lead to delays and

governmental instability; it was also a very expensive system of government. Cabinet system, he concluded, was all right at the national and State levels, but it was not suited to the conditions prevalent in our urban local areas.

The Chairman observed that the deliberations of the seminar had so far been very instructive and he appreciated the organisation of the seminar which made it possible to bring academicians and politicians together in one forum. He cautioned the participants that whatever pattern of municipal government was suggested, the system of government must stem from local conditions. He said that foreign models of government might not wholly suit the existing situations in our urban areas. With these words, the Chairman thanked all the participants for their cooperation and declared the morning session closed.

Concluding Session (September 16, 1969)

The concluding session of the seminar was presided over by Shri Hans Raj Gupta, the Mayor of Delhi. The first speaker in the concluding session drew attention to the need for delegating more powers to the elected people. He said that municipal government had to deal with essential civic services and it was the elected councillor who had to face his constituents everyday. The councillor, he said, would be approached by the local people for the redressal of their grievances; but he had little authority and no share in the administration of the corporation. He felt that unless the councillor was given certain powers to meet the local situation, there was every possibility of his losing interest in local affairs, which would lead to the inconvenience of the common people. Hence, he was of the opinion that the cabinet system of government, which sought to entrust power to a handful of persons, would not work. He made it clear that the committee system should be allowed to flourish and the councillors must be given their due share in exercising authority. The commissioner, in his opinion, should have only delegated authority to run the day-to-day administration. Criticizing the role of the appointed officers, he said that these officers had hardly any aptitude for civic work and most of the higher officials were trained in district administration and not in municipal administration. He felt that the officers were unable to translate the aspirations of the people into action and in many cases

progressive measures passed by the corporation would be put in cold storage by the executive on the plea that executive administration was his exclusive jurisdiction. Dwelling on his own experience as a municipal councillor, he said that a councillor, if he was sincere, had to work almost all the time for the local people. This, he remarked, was often criticised as 'interference' by the councillors. He feared that the common man would suffer in the hands of the bureaucracy, if the councillors were not allowed to exercise certain powers in relation to municipal administration. The cabinet system, in his opinion, would lead to majority rule and would work to the detriment of the minority. His suggestion was that municipal government should be run through the device of committees, both functional and zonal.

Another speaker expressed surprise at the attempt by some of the participants to ignore the role of politics in civic affairs. In his opinion, there could not be any elections without some kind of political groupings. He remarked that in a democracy there was an inevitability in the role of politics and there was no point in ignoring it. Elaborating his point further, the speaker said that no doubt there was some danger in the politicisation of municipal government, but its vices could be greatly reduced by taking the minority in confidence. He suggested that municipal works programme could be drawn up embracing every single locality within the municipal jurisdiction. Allocations could be made on the bases of wards, population and needs. Once the needs of the different areas in the municipality would be taken care of, he said, there might not be much room for political confrontations. Clarifying his conception of the cabinet system, he said that he used the concept to mean giving responsibility and authority to the elected representatives on the basis of a leader and a team acting as a unit. That would not mean the complete exclusion of other members from the share of power. The speaker remarked that the danger of the appointed executive, the municipal commissioner, being in fact the strongest person, would be much greater if authority was not vested in one team of elected members. Dispersal of authority, he observed, would lead to the use of effective authority by the appointed executive. He observed that in order to prevent the municipal bodies from being mere talking shops, it was

necessary that they should be made more effective, and the best and the healthiest way of making them more attractive was to adopt some method under which a team of elected members would work with a leader as its head.

The next participant pointed out that three different patterns of municipal government were suggested in course of the deliberations, namely, the committee system, the cabinet system, and the strong mayor system. Agreeing with an earlier speaker, he remarked that from his experience as a municipal president for the last fifteen years he could say that the cabinet system would not be workable at the municipal level. He observed that unlike the governments at higher levels, municipal administration had to keep in constant touch with the localities and their needs. Referring to the strong mayor or the presidential system of government, he said that an attempt to introduce such a system had failed in the old Madhya Pradesh and in Uttar Pradesh. He argued that even under a presidential system of government the committees could be widely used to help the executive president. He, however, stated his preference very clearly by recommending the adoption of the Maharashtra system of municipal government. In such a system of administration through committees, every councillor had an effective share in the exercise of power. The standing committee, he said, could be made more powerful and in that event, it might assume a role very close to that of a cabinet. He mentioned about his own experience of working as a member of a committee, which, in his opinion, served very well as a training ground for acquiring the skill to run the administration. The committee system, he remarked, had this additional advantage of being used as a training ground for future leaders. To invigorate municipal administration, he felt, mere structural changes would be of no avail, simultaneously, more powers should be given to the municipal bodies in order that they could serve the people by meeting their felt needs.

Another participant observed that the main point was how a democratic form of local government could be made more effective. He admitted that there were several alternatives such as a strong mayor system, the cabinet system and the committee system. He maintained that it would be wrong to assume that under the first two systems individual councillors

would loose their share of authority and power. Committees, he said, would always remain useful devices for the municipal administration. Referring to the problem of bigger cities, he observed that there was need for a strong and cohesive body within the municipal authority to attend to the larger problems and for this, local self-government must develop a new machinery to tackle the various problems. He said that under the committee system, municipal administration remained divided and fragmented; the system stood in the way of taking an integrated view of things. In his opinion, if municipal government was really to be used as an agency for development, there must be some central machinery—either a cabinet or a strong mayor—that would be dynamic enough to give the city a lead in development.

The next participant observed that centralisation of authority in municipal government was necessary to run the administration efficiently. He made it clear that his idea was not to have a dictator as the head of municipal administration; rather he was thinking in terms of a dynamic leadership. He maintained that even under a cabinet form of government or a board of management, the committee system could be useful, but it needed to be based on fresh ideas. The committee system, he said, was in operation in our municipal corporations, and even in the smaller municipalities. It was a useful device insofar as it was able to bring together the different views of the people. Also, it helped in developing some kind of specialisation among the members. The cabinet system of government, he remarked, was not much different from the conception of a committee; it would, however, have the power of coordination and direction. The speaker wondered whether a cabinet type of municipal government could be introduced under the existing conditions in the country. He agreed that the independent statutory authority of the chief executive officer should be abrogated, and there should be a healthy understanding between the deliberative and the executive wings. His view was that changes should be made without adversely affecting the efficiency of the executive. Referring to the situation in larger cities, he maintained that the introduction of the strong mayor system in them could be considered. The strong mayor, he said would be a public man, a politician; he should, therefore, be aided by a competent

municipal officer drawn from public life or any enterprise or even from the university. The main consideration should be that the chief municipal officer must be a competent person who would know the administrative requirements and help the mayor in the discharge of his responsibilities. So far as smaller towns and cities were concerned, he thought that the same system might not be applicable to them.

One participant favoured the introduction of an undiluted form of cabinet government. For the sake of expediency, however, he would suggest that a system should be devised in order to overcome the present difficulties of the committee system. He mentioned about two types of leadership—administrative and political, and observed that when there were many sub-centres of decision-making in the form of committees, political leadership was in difficulty. Referring to the city manager in America, he said that the manager was in a happier position as he had to face a smaller council to which he was responsible. Contrastingly, the Indian municipal commissioner did not know to whom he was really responsible. He maintained that the main difficulty in our municipal administration could be traced to the absence of a distinct focus of political leadership. Since there was a reluctance to accept the cabinet system of government *in toto*, the speaker suggested that the existing system should be modified to some extent in order that the emergence of political leadership could be facilitated. Even if the committee system would continue, he observed, there should be a committee or a central political organ to see that policy-decisions were coordinated and conflicts resolved. In this connection, he referred to the tendency in all municipal corporations to allow one of the statutory committees to emerge as a policy committee. He held that many of the committees in existence could function independently of the central committee and that led to the creation of various sub-centres of decision-making. Administration in such a situation was bound to be diffused and weak, and the political wing was unable to exercise effective control over the administration. The speaker suggested that there might be a policy committee at the apex charged with very important matters, such as formulation of policy, coordination of administration, etc., and at the lower level there could be committees which would not be invested

with any decision-making powers. Other committees, he said, should help the policy committee, listen to grievances and forward their resolutions to the policy committee for final decision. The chairman of the several committees would be members of the policy committee on *ex-officio* basis, as in Maharashtra. He felt that if reforms could be made on these lines there would definitely be an improvement on the present arrangement.

The next speaker said that, being an advocate of the committee system, he felt very happy and gave massive support to what the previous speaker had said. He agreed that most of the committees should not be given powers to take decisions. Referring to the English committee system, he said that although the English committees, in general, did not have final powers, most of their resolutions would in fact be confirmed by the council. He observed that the commissioner's job should be to see what resolutions were being taken by the committees; he should be alive to the difficulties that might take place if a committee would have taken a particular decision. Referring to the Town Clerk in British local government, the speaker pointed out that the Town Clerk was supported by about half a dozen clerks whose job was to keep the Town Clerk informed about the transactions in the committees. When he would be told that a particular committee might take a decision that would conflict with another decision taken by some other committee, it would be his duty to point out the difficulty in the implementation of the work due to conflicting decisions. The speaker observed that it was by this advice that the Town Clerk had acquired administrative leadership; it was due not to his legal position. In our municipal corporations, he said, most of the things were being done on the basis of law and regulations. The commissioner acquired administrative leadership depending on his statutory position. Commenting on political leadership, he remarked that a dynamic political leadership was beyond any constitutional arrangement. He said that there were complaints against fragmentation of authority in municipal government, but since the Second Hoover Commission Report we were tired of telling people that even when all authority was vested in one individual, the President of the United States, administration was thoroughly fragmented and absolutely

unwieldy. The speaker observed that in some countries, the cabinet system worked more satisfactorily than in some others. It had been found that the chief minister who was supposed to lead a team had failed in some instances miserably to control the work of different ministries and departments. Therefore, he maintained that all those grounds which had been advanced in support of one system or the other logically did not carry conviction. He agreed, however, that the policy committee could be strengthened, but cautioned that even when we talked of 'policy' in local government we should understand the meaning of policy. For example, if street lighting was unsatisfactory in Delhi, the lighting engineer should try to convince the elected representatives whether a particular lighting system would be good. On the basis of technical knowledge, the officer concerned should explain to the elected leaders in simpler language things that he wanted to be done. Referring to the relationship between the elected representatives and the officials, he commented that the gap between these two classes was there because of historical reasons. But, he thought that if the officers could attend the meetings of different committees and help them in their transactions, this would go a long way in creating a healthy relationship between the officials and the non-officials in a local body.

It was next the turn of the Chairman, Shri Hans Raj Gupta, to give his views on the seminar subject. The Chairman said that it was a very interesting subject as it related to the problem of better management of municipal administration. He went on to say: "After all, people have elected us, they have placed confidence in us and expect that so far as the towns are concerned, all the necessities which go to make a good town, must be provided by the municipalities. All the services should be rendered; whether it is education to children, health services, hospitals, and transport services. The corporation councillors have got a duty; they have been elected by the people who expect that the councillor will help them in certain ways, sometimes in getting things done in a regular way; there are also other members in the constituency who want the councillors to help them in things which they have done against the law. And more often than not, the councillor is at his wit's end how to satisfy these people who have either put up unauthorised constructions or

done something which, in his heart of hearts, he feels is not quite proper. But there you are. He is a voter. He has to help his friend.

"Do you want to give these councillors all the authority they want. You will agree with me that it is in accordance with democracy that more powers should be given to the elected people. But those powers have to be exercised in the public interest. All these restrictions which are some times imposed, all these committees, the cabinet system—they are only there to see that the general interest of the community is looked after and that we are not completely swayed by the day-to-day demand or requirements of the councillors. But unfortunately, I am one who has just sort of stood up as a Mayor. I had no experience of working as a councillor. I have to sign hundreds of letters in the morning. Whether all these letters to be signed are for the just cause is another matter. I am afraid, I for one, would like to put some restraint on the way the councillors would like to exercise their powers. The committees, the standing committee, are there ; but they are part and parcel of the deliberative wing. They discuss, advise and recommend, but they do not execute. The executive authority is vested in the commissioner. At the same time, certain checks and counter-checks are put on the commissioner, who sometimes finds it impossible to maintain discipline in his own administrative wing.

"I am afraid, no administrative machinery worth its name can function if there is no discipline. This holds good for superior officers, sweepers and everybody. Now, it is suggested that there should be a cabinet which should also have the powers of the executive.

"At the moment, people are only discussing things, criticizing the commissioner that he has not done this or that. But so far as the execution part is concerned, it is for the commissioner to do it. When it is a cabinet system, the Mayor-in-Council system, the elected people go to the top and see that whatever policies are laid down are implemented. Otherwise they can be thrown out of power. This is the crux of the whole affair.

"As a matter of fact the councillors have to see on behalf of the corporation, the deliberative wing, that the policies laid down by it are executed. I do not think any person who is

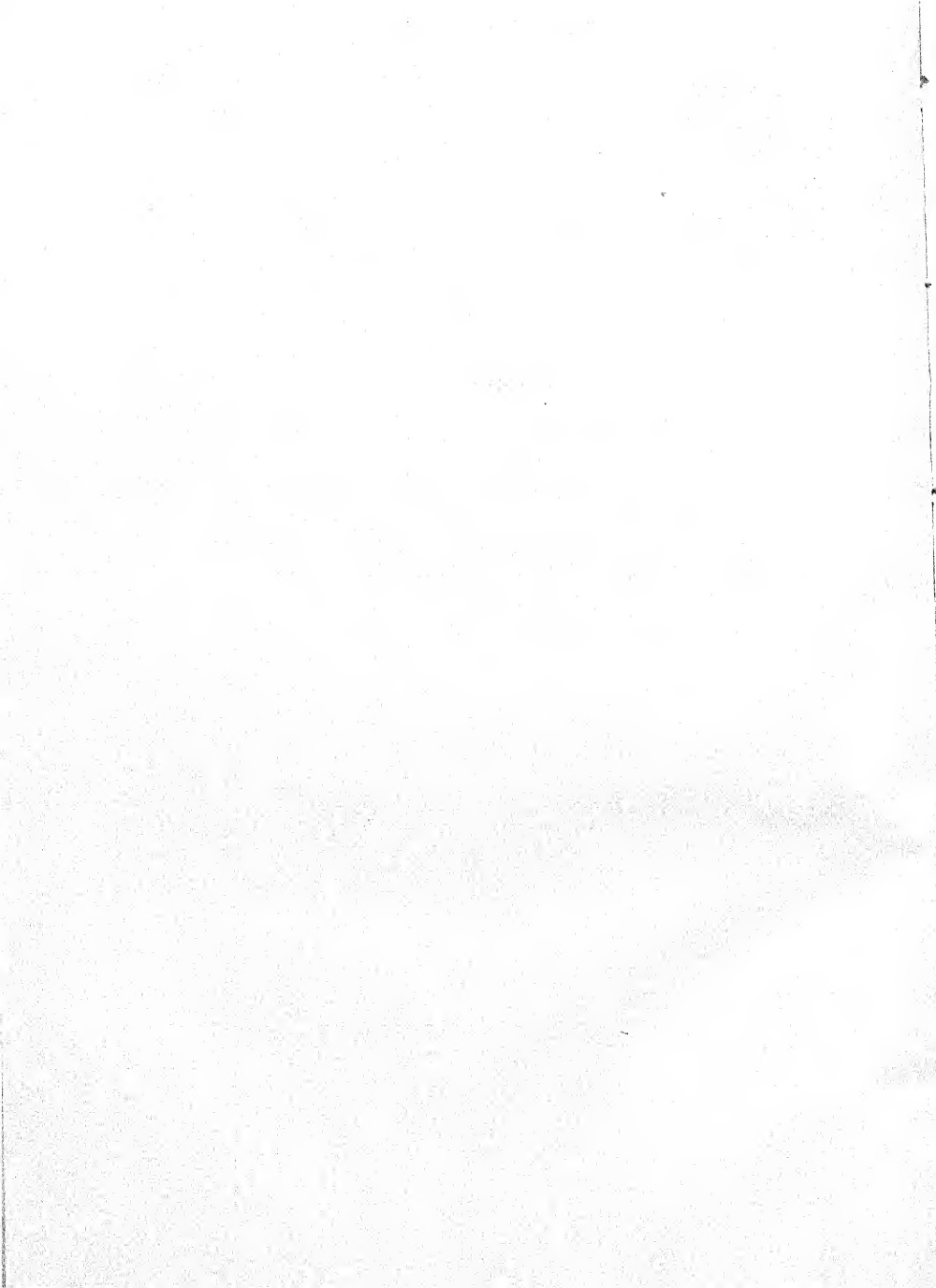
democratically inclined would give statutory powers to the commissioner.

It all depends on your own attitude towards your own friends. You should give the proper service and also see to it that the organisation functions efficiently and effectively. This is my feeling. I do not have much experience of being a councillor. I have always been a mayor. I only get things done by others. I do not know, therefore, what your feelings would be. I have certainly this feeling that the commissioner would also be happier if there are some people on whom he can entirely depend. I think the commissioner has also to be given some sort of protection while discharging his duties. People, who would become the cabinet members or constitute the board of management, in whatever name you call it, have to take up this responsibility. There may be exceptions, but I am sorry to say that we do not have the kind of calibre among our councillors as we would like to have. Our calibre is all right in so far as the grievances of the people are concerned and their redressal. But when we talk of major policy-making which should cover the whole town or city, this is not up to the mark. I have a feeling that particularly in bigger corporations, probably a cabinet system, or a via media which can be worked out, would enable the councillors to carry on the functions of town administration in a very much better manner than what is being done at present.

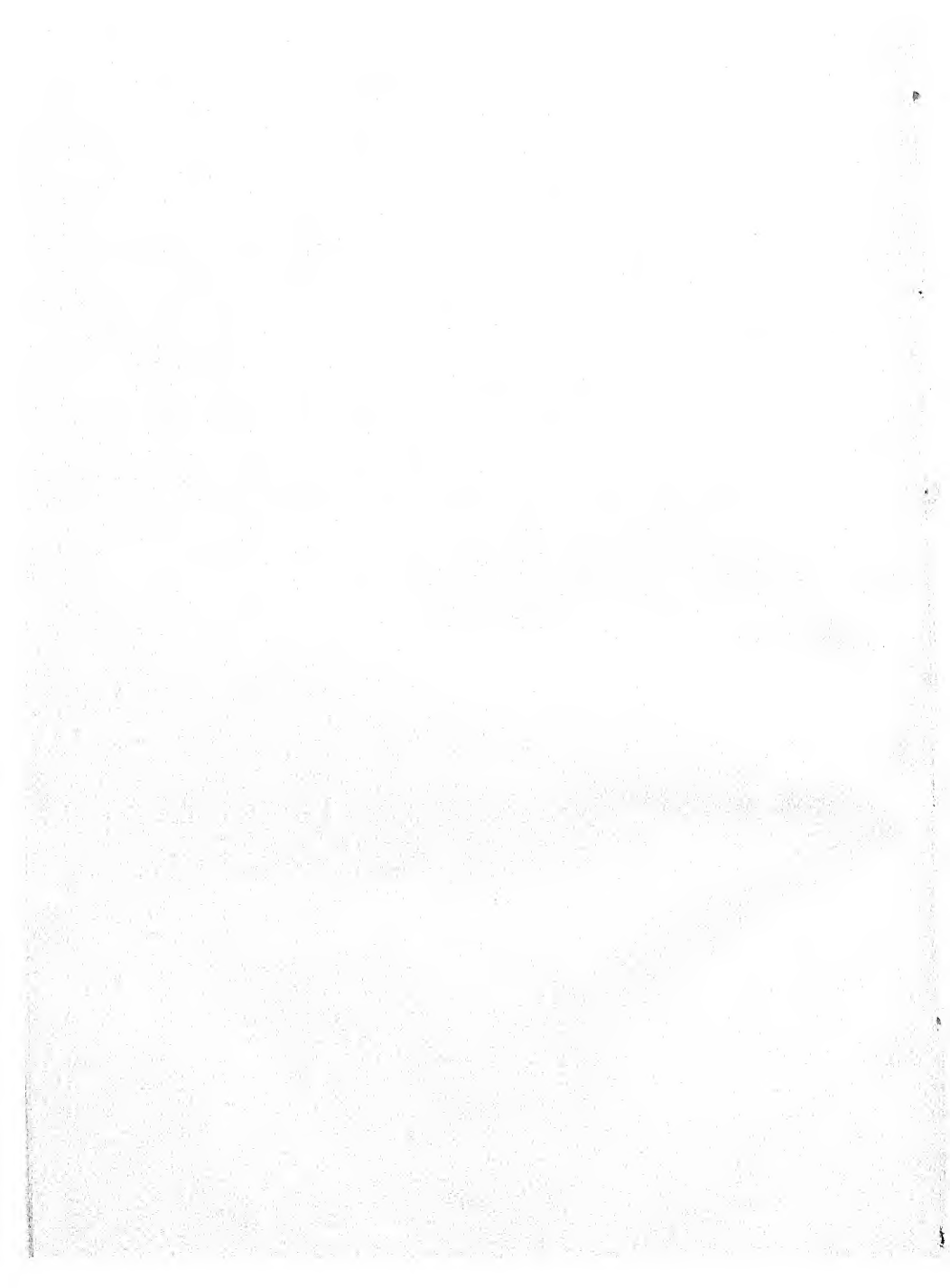
“Then the question of Delhi comes in. Here we have too many organisations. There is the Metropolitan Council, the Corporation and the like. I submit that we have too many organisations. It would have been better if work could be concentrated in a single agency. This is in the case of Delhi only. I do not know how the other cities are placed. So far as the present subject of the seminar is concerned, it is not necessary that my viewpoints should be accepted by you, but it is only the view of a single man. I must thank Prof. Mukharji and Prof. Jagannadham for giving me this opportunity and I am very glad that Shri B. S. Murthy, our Minister, has inaugurated this seminar. This is a subject which should interest all of us. I once again thank you.”

After the conclusion of the speech by Shri Hans Raj Gupta, Prof. Jagannadham said a few words by way of winding

up the seminar. He thanked the Chairman for his illuminating talk and expressed his gratitude to all the participants for their contribution to the deliberations. He concluded that it was time that all of us should reflect on the proper structure of municipal government in order that it could efficiently discharge the responsibilities entrusted to it.



APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

<i>Name</i>	<i>Designation</i>
1. Shri Hans Raj Gupta	.. Mayor of Delhi Municipal Corporation, Delhi.
2. Shri Ram Lal	.. Councillor, Delhi Municipal Corporation, Delhi.
3. Shri Satish Chandra Khandelwal	.. Councillor, Delhi Municipal Corporation, Delhi.
4. Shri M. Balliah	.. Councillor, Hyderabad Municipal Corporation, Andhra Pradesh.
5. Shri A. Shankar Rao	.. Councillor, Hyderabad Municipal Corporation, Andhra Pradesh.
6. Shri Vinaya Kumar Parashar	.. President, Akola Municipal Council, Maharashtra.
7. Shri Kumudchandra C. Desai	.. Councillor, Municipal Corporation of Baroda, Gujarat.
8. Dr. Shanti G. Patel	.. Councillor, Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay, Maharashtra.
9. Shri M. G. Joshi	.. Councillor, Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay, Maharashtra.
10. Shri M. R. Shettar	.. Mayor, Hubli-Dharwar Municipal Corporation, Mysore.
11. Shri G. R. Venahallimath	.. Councillor, Hubli-Dharwar Municipal Corporation, Mysore.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Designation</i>
12. Shri A.P. Jhagirdar	.. Councillor, Hubli-Dharwar Municipal Corporation, Mysore.
13. Shri S. A. Kadi	.. Assistant Commissioner, Hubli-Dharwar Municipal Corporation, Mysore.
14. Shri Munnuswamy	.. Councillor, Madras Corporation, Tamil Nadu.
15. Shri Pasupathy Dhanraj	.. Councillor, Madras Corporation, Tamil Nadu.
16. Shri G. Kalyanasundram	.. Councillor, Salem Municipality, Tamil Nadu.
17. Shri P. Krishnan	... Councillor, Salem Municipality, Tamil Nadu.
18. Shri G. Selvaraj	.. Councillor, Salem Municipality, Tamil Nadu.
19. Shri C. R. Dass	.. Councillor, Municipal Corporation of Trivandrum, Kerala.
20. Shri N. Subramonia Pillai	.. Councillor, Municipal Corporation of Trivandrum, Kerala.
21. Shri Panna Lal Mahajan	.. President, Amritsar Municipal Committee, Punjab.
22. Shri Sardari Lal Arora	.. Municipal Commissioner, Amritsar Municipal Committee, Punjab.
23. Dr. Manik Lal Mukerjee	.. Councillor, Varanasi Municipal Corporation, Uttar Pradesh.
24. Shri Krishna Chandra Shukla	.. Councillor, Varanasi Municipal Corporation, Uttar Pradesh.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Designation</i>
25. Prof. M. A. Muttalib	... Head, Department of Public Administration, Osmania University, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.
26. Prof. Ziauddin Khan	... Head, Department of public Administration, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, Rajasthan.
27. Dr. Ali Ashraf	.. Assistant Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh.
28. Shri C. B. Rao	.. Ex-Mayor, Municipal Corporation of Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh.
29. Prof. Chetakar Jha	.. Professor of Political Science, Patna College, Bihar.
30. Prof. R. B. Das	.. Head, Department of Public Administration, University of Lucknow, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh.
31. Shri R. N. Chopra	.. Commissioner, Delhi Municipal Corporation, Delhi.
32. Shri Gian Prakash	.. Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Health, Family Planning, Works, Housing and Urban Development, New Delhi.
33. Shri Deva Raj	.. O.S.D., Ministry of Health, Family Planning, Works, Housing, and Urban Development, New Delhi.
34. Shri H. B. Das	.. O & M Officer, Delhi Municipal Corporation, Delhi.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Designation</i>
35. Prof. G. Mukharji	... Director, Centre for Training & Research in Municipal Administration, I.I.P.A., New Delhi.
36. Shri Abhijit Datta	... Reader in Municipal Administration, Centre for Training & Research in Municipal Administration, I.I.P.A., New Delhi.
37. Shri Mohit Bhattacharya	... Lecturer in Municipal Administration, Centre for Training & Research in Municipal Administration, I.I.P.A., New Delhi.
38. Shri R. S. Gupta	.. Lecturer in Municipal Administration, Centre for Training & Research in Municipal Administration, I.I.P.A., New Delhi.
39. Shri B. D. Raheja	.. Lecturer in Municipal Administration, Centre for Training & Research in Municipal Administration, I.I.P.A., New Delhi.
40. Prof. V. Jagannadham	... Professor of Sociology and Social Administration, I.I.P.A., New Delhi.
41. Prof. N. Srinivasan	... Professor of Political Science, I.I.P.A., New Delhi.
42. Dr. S.R. Maheshwari	.. Reader in Public Administration, I.I.P.A., New Delhi.
43. Shri R. G. Mulgund	.. Administrative Officer, I.I.P.A., New Delhi.

APPENDIX B

WORK PROGRAMME

Morning Session : September 15, 1969

Inauguration by SHRI B. S. MURTHY, Hon'ble Minister for Health, Family Planning, Works, Housing and Urban Development, Government of India.

- Papers presented :
- (i) *Management Problems in Municipal Government and the Relevance of the Cabinet System* : SHRI MOHIT BHATTACHARYA
 - (ii) *Cabinet System of Municipal Government* : SHRI C. B. RAO
 - (iii) *A Case for Cabinet Form of Municipal Executive* : PROF. M. A. MUTTALIB

Discussion by participants

Chairman : SHRI PANNALAL MAHAJAN

Afternoon Session : September 15, 1969

- Papers presented :
- (i) *Cabinet System in Municipal Government—A Viewpoint* : PROF. CHETAKAR JHA
 - (ii) *The Case for a Strong Mayor* : DR. ALI ASHRAF

Discussion by participants

Chairman : SHRI C. B. RAO

Morning Session : Session 16, 1969

- Papers presented :
- (i) *Cabinet System in Municipal Government* : Prof. R. B. DAS

(ii) *Patterns of Municipal Structures :*
SHRI R. S. GUPTA

(iii) *The Cabinet System in Municipal Government :* PROF. ZIAUDDIN KHAN

(iv) *Cabinet System or New Strategy in Municipal Government :* SHRI B. D. RAHEJA

Discussion by participants

Chairman : SHRI SHANTI G. PATEL

Concluding Session : September 16, 1969

Discussion by participants

Chairman : SHRI HANS RAJ GUPTA

